

John Wra
1788

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF THE
EMPIRE OF MOROCCO.

ITS
ANIMALS, PRODUCTS, CLIMATE, SOIL,
CITIES, PORTS, PROVINCES, COINS,
WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES. WITH THE
LANGUAGE, RELIGION, LAWS, MAN-
NERS, CUSTOMS, AND CHARACTER,

OF THE
M O O R S ;

THE HISTORY OF THE
DYNASTIES SINCE EDRIS;
THE NAVAL FORCE AND COMMERCE OF MO-
ROCCO; AND THE CHARACTER, CONDUCT, AND
VIEWS, POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE
REIGNING EMPEROR.
TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF
M. CHENIER. *K*

VOL. I.

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M.DCC.LXXXVIII

EMPIRE OF MOROCCO
OF THE
PRESIDENT STATE

NEEDS, CUSTOMS, AND CHARACTER,
LANGUAGE, RELIGION, LAW, AND
WRIGHT AND MEADON WITH THE
CITIES, PORTS, PROVINCES, COUNTIES,
AND PRODUCTS OF THE STATE.

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P R E F A C E

BY THE

TRANSLATOR.

OF all the people, with whom Europeans have any continued intercourse, those who inhabit the coasts of Barbary seem to be the least known. This is the more extraordinary because that their manners, customs, government, and the ignorance in which they remain, when we recollect their proximity to Europe, are very remarkable. To give

authenticity to a performance which would describe this peculiar people, it is necessary that the writer should have been himself a witness of the facts he relates.

M. Chenier, author of the following work, was appointed Consul, by the court of France, in 1767, and resided in Morocco many years. Several English gentlemen, and merchants, now in London, were acquainted with him at Mogador, and bear testimony to the veracity of his character, and of his narration. Various authors, who, by accident, have made some short residence in Morocco, have written concerning the manners of the Moors; but their accounts are usually little more than journals. They all, however, prove, by the incidents they relate, that M. Chenier cannot be accused of being disposed to exaggerate. They all mention events that confirm, and often exceed, the most uncommon of those recorded by our author.

author. The work of M. Chenier is the fullest and most complete, as well as the most authentic, of any hitherto presented to the public; consequently there is little danger that the public should think such a work superfluous.

The following translation, however, is only a part of the *Recherches historiques sur les Maures*, by M. Chenier: but it is presumed it is that part which alone was wanting. His two first volumes relate to the ancient history of Mauritania, the Arabs under the Caliphs, and the conquest of Spain by the Mahometans. On this subject there are already many histories, which include information equally full, at least, with that contained in the former part of the work of M. Chenier. To have translated these volumes would have been to have made the public pay thrice the sum for knowledge, two thirds of which they already possessed.

That —

To contribute to order, and increase perspicuity, the translation differs from the original, by being divided into books and chapters. For a similar reason, a very copious index is added.

The translator held it his duty to examine the accounts given of Morocco, by other authors, in order to estimate the real value of the work he meant to publish. While performing this task, he met with many curious anecdotes, that tended farther to display the character of the people, and confirm the facts related by M. Chenier. These he has collected, arranged, and inserted, in a separate chapter, at the conclusion of the first volume, to which place they most properly belong. That the reader may determine for himself how far they have a claim to his belief, it is requisite he should be informed who the persons were by whom they are recorded. The authors are not numerous,
neither

neither are their works scarce. The first, in point of date, is M. de St. Olon *, ambassador from the court of France to Mouley Ishmael. The next is Busnot †, a father of the order of the Holy Trinity, who went, accompanied by some other monks, to Morocco, for the redemption of French captives. The third is Mr. Windus ‡, who accompanied the English ambassador, the honourable Charles Stewart, in the year 1721. To render his embassy more effectual, Stewart was commodore of a squadron of ships, and his negociation was spoken of in terms of the highest approbation. The fourth was Jean de la Faye §, and the fathers of his order, who, like Busnot, were sent to effect

* Relation de l' Empire de Maroc, par M. de St. Olon. A Paris, 1695.

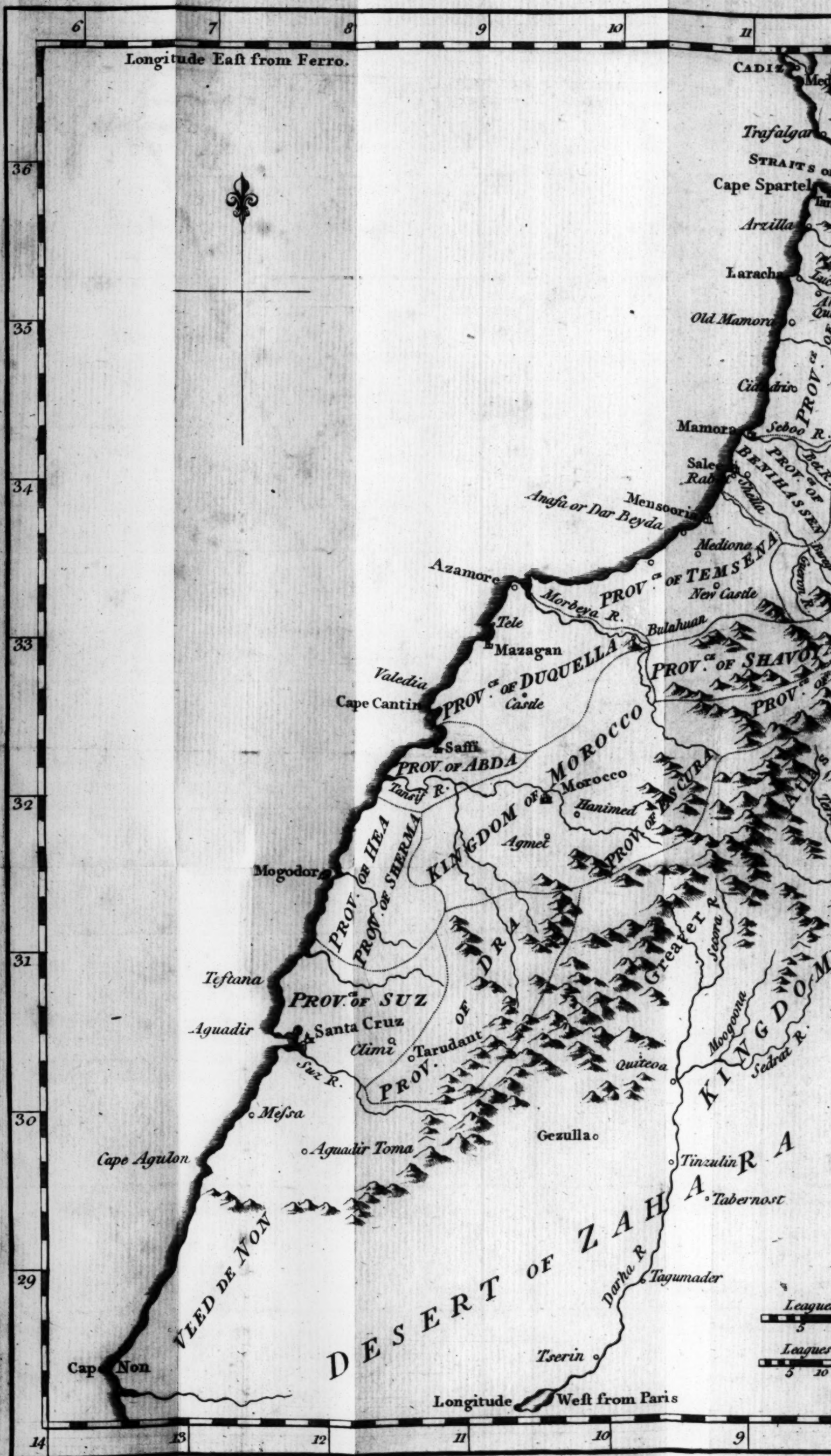
† Histoire du regne de Mouley Ishmael, A Rouen, 1714.

‡ A journey to Mequinez, London, 1725.

§ Relation, en forme de Journal, du voyage pour la redemption des captifs. A Paris, 1726.

the redemption of French captives: and the fifth Captain Braithwaite, who accompanied Mr. Ruffell, the English ambassador, to Morocco*. To insist upon the respectability of such authorities were unnecessary; it is sufficient for the translator to say that all the facts, related in the additional chapter above mentioned, are to be found in these authors.

* History of the revolutions in the Empire of Morocco. London, 1729.





T H E
P R E S E N T S T A T E
O F T H E
E M P I R E O F M O R O C C O .

B O O K I .

Geographical Extent of the Empire of Morocco—
Provinces—Cities—Rivers—Ports and Harbours—
Climate—Soil—Fruits—Products—Mines—
Ancient Commerce and sources of Wealth—Inha-
bitants—Tribes—Dress—Renegados—Jews—
Animals.

C H A P. I.

*Geographical Situation and Extent of the
Empire of Morocco.*

THE Empire of Morocco extends from the twenty-eighth to the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude; its length, from north to south, I imagine to be nearly two hundred leagues; its breadth in the northern part is about five degrees, six or seven in the middle, and about a hundred

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and thirty leagues where it is broadest. It is bounded to the north by the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean, to the east by the kingdom of Tremecen and Vled d'Elgerid, to the south by the Desert, and to the west by the Atlantic Ocean.

The territories of Morocco are formed by the union of several small kingdoms, anciently limited to a single province, and perpetually at variance among themselves, till at length they were subdued and united under one sovereign by the Sharifs. The southern part of the Empire contains the kingdoms of Suz, Tarudant, Morocco, Tafilet, and Sugulmeffa, and the northern those of Fez, Mequinez, and Tremecen; the latter, which was formerly subject to Morocco, having been conquered by the Turks of Algiers, is now a part of the territories of that Regency.

The kingdom of Morocco comprehends at present the provinces of Morocco, Efcura, Ramna, Duquella, Abda, Sherma, Hea, Suo, Dra, and Gefula; that of Fez contains those of Temsena, Shavoya, Ted-
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la, Beni-Hassen, Fez, Rif, Garet, Shaus, and Algarb. Several authors, who have copied from each other, have given other names to some of these provinces, but I have taken the natives for my guide, who must certainly be best acquainted with the names of the several districts: to this may be added that the limits of these provinces have frequently varied, according as they have been occupied by different tribes; this variation of extent may have caused a variation of name.

Beside the provinces which compose the Empire of Morocco, the Sharifs claim the sovereignty of the Vled de Nun, and the desert of Zahara (an Arabic word signifying desert) but their authority over these provinces is very precarious, as it depends on the pleasure of their subjects and temporary circumstances. The people who inhabit these deserts, far removed from the center of despotic authority, live in tribes or small republics, and chuse their own chiefs. They retain for the Emperor of Morocco that respect and veneration which his power, and the idea they have of

his supremacy, as head of the church, inspire; but they pay or refuse tribute as they think fit, since it is not possible for him to obtain it by force in a parched and burning country, where the people have no fixed habitation, and where an army would neither be able to act nor to subsist. This part of the coast has been called Vled de Nun, from Cape Non, which was discovered by the Portugueze in the beginning of the fifteenth century, and to which they gave this name, because those who doubled it first never returned.

The whole Empire of Morocco is surrounded to the east, north, and south, by a chain of vallies and mountains, which are distinguished according to the number and names of the tribes by whom they are inhabited: from Laracha to near Saffi, the western part of it forms a sort of plain, which, in many places, is fifteen or twenty leagues in breadth, from east to west.

C H A P. II.

Provinces of the Empire of Morocco.

IT is impossible to be very accurate in the geography of this country. The prejudices of the Moors, who are not accustomed to the sight of Europeans, will not permit us to visit the inland provinces: such researches would only serve to awaken their jealousy. They, in fact, scarcely know themselves the extent of their provinces, which varies according to the will or interest of the prince, the favour the governors are in at court, and other temporary circumstances.

In describing this Empire I shall first treat of the maritime provinces which I have travelled through, almost from one end to the other, as these, from their situation, are more interesting than those of the interior country, of which I shall speak hereafter.

The most northern province is that of

Garet, on the western banks of the Mul-luvia, which divides the Empire of Morocco from the province of Tremecen. This province, about twenty or twenty-five leagues in length, is bounded to the north by the Mediterranean, Mount Atlas to the south, and the province of Rif to the west.

The province of Rif, which is one of the largest, is situated amidst that chain of mountains which forms a part of the lesser Atlas. This province, the soil of which is stoney, is bounded by that of Garet, to the east, the Mediterranean to the north, on the coast of which is the ancient city of Gomera, as also Melilla and Veles de Pegnon, belonging to Spain ; by the province of Garb to the west, and to the south by those of Shaus, or Chaus, and Fez.

The province of Garb begins in the territory of Tetuan, and extends near a degree in length from east to west, reaching quite to Cape Spartel ; its length, from north to south, is about thirty-six leagues ; it is bounded to the north by the Straits of Gibraltar,

Gibraltar, to the south by the river Mamora, to the west by the Ocean, and to the east by the kingdom of Fez. The northern part of this province is not very fruitful, as it is intersected with vallies, the lands are liable to be injured by the heavy rains, and the harvest is very uncertain; the rest of the province is extremely beautiful; it is watered by several rivers, and embellished by some forests. Leo Africanus, and all those who have copied him, call this province Asgar, which, I am inclined to believe, is an error either in transcribing or printing, and that the name intended was El-Garb, which signifies the west.

Next to the province of Garb, or El-Garb, lies that of Beni-Hassen, called by Leo Africanus, and those who have followed him, Habat, which was possibly the ancient name; the present may have been received from some new tribe which took possession of it. This province is bounded to the north by the river Mamora, and extends to the south to that of Sarrat; four leagues from Rabat, to the east, are the provinces of

Fez and Tedla, and to the west the ocean. This province is very extensive, rich, and commercial, and produces wool of a very excellent quality.

The province of Temsena is contiguous to that of Beni-Hassen, and extends from the river Sarrat to that of Morbeya. It is bounded to the east by the provinces of Tedla and Shavoya, or Chavoya, that of Beni-Hassen to the north, Duquella to the south, and the Atlantic Ocean to the east. This province is rich and fertile, and abounds in excellent provisions of various kinds. Its name seems intended to signify its salubrity and the purity of the climate. *Temsena* appears to be derived from the two Arabic words *Tamam Sana*, only a year; as if they should say, that to reside here only a year would be sufficient to insure the sickly the return of their health, and such, in fact, is the firm belief of the natives. Corn is very plentiful in this province, it is of a very excellent kind, and the ears frequently bear seventy grains, or more. In the forests is found a kind of cedar, called Hazar,

zar, of a resinous smell; it is a hard and incorruptible wood, and the Moors employ it in building their houses. Leo Africanus, misled by the similarity of names, calls this province Tremecen, the name of a kingdom which does not belong to Morocco. Marmol, in copying him, has fallen into the same error.

Passing the river Morbeya, the southern limit of Temfena, we arrive at the province of Duquella, which extends to the walls of Saffi. This province is bounded on the north by that of Temfena; to the east by those of Escura, Ramna, and Morocco; to the south by the province of Abda; and to the west by the ocean. It is very populous, rich, and commercial, abounds in corn, and produces a great deal of wool, part of which is sold unwrought, and the rest employed in the manufactures, with which it supplies the southern provinces. This province formerly extended to the river Tanfis, but that of Abda has been taken out of it, in order to divide it between two brothers who disputed the government. The inhabitants

habitants of Duquella are, in general, of a large size and robust ; they are a trading people, and, as the spirit of interest has a great influence on the characters of men, they are more affable and engaging than those of the other southern provinces.

The province of Abda, which made a part of that of Duquella, begins at the city of Saffi, and extends to the river of Tanfis ; it is of a triangular form. The inhabitants of this province are particularly addicted to the profession of arms, and many of them are in the service of the Court.

Next to the province of Abda is that of Hea, which is bounded to the north by the river Tanfis, to the east by the province of Sherma, or Cherma, to the west by the ocean, and to the south by the province of Sus. The inhabitants of Hea are a trading people, but restless, and little civilized ; they are perpetually distracted by intestine broils. The province of Sherma, which is between this and that of Morocco, has been dismembered from that of Hea.

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The province of Sus is next to that of Hea. It is bounded to the east by the province of Dra and a part of Gesula, to the west by the sea, and to the south by the Vled de Nun. This was formerly a very trading province, from its connections with the southern districts; but the present Emperor of Morocco having destroyed the city of Sainte Croix (Santa Cruz), it has no longer the same resources; it may, however, indemnify itself for this loss by trading with the European settlements in Senegal.

These are the maritime provinces of the Empire of Morocco: as to those within land and on the eastern side of the country, as they cannot be frequented by Europeans, it is impossible to speak of them with the same precision. I shall now, however, return from the south to the north, and describe these according to the best accounts I have been able to procure.

To the east of the province of Sus, and to the north of Vled de Nun, are the provinces of Dra and Gesula, both in the neigh-

neighbourhood of Mount Atlas, which, in this southern part of the country, extends almost to the sea.

Proceeding northward we enter the province of Morocco, which is of considerable extent. Between this province and that of Hea is situated the province of Sherma, which has been dismembered from the latter. This small province and those of Abda and Duquella are to the west of that of Morocco, which is bounded to the north by the province of Escura, or Ascora, as it is called by Leo Africanus, and by Mount Atlas to the east.

Next to the province of Morocco is the province of Escura, which, with that of Ramna, formerly composed only one government; it has been divided to keep the people of these countries, so near to the mountains, more easily in subjection. Ramna and Escura have the province of Morocco to the south, that of Duquella to the west, the river Morbeya to the north, and Mount Atlas to the east,

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Proceeding northward from the province of Escura we enter that of Tedla, which extends along the eastern side of Mount Atlas, and has to the west the province of Shavoya; the latter, inhabited by mountaineers addicted to robbery and violence, is bounded to the west by the province of Temfena, and to the north by that of Beni-Haffen, with which it is frequently engaged in disputes.

The province of Fez is situated to the north of Tedla and Shavoya, and has to the west the provinces of Beni-Haffen and Garb, and Mount Atlas to the east, stretching to the north as far as the provinces of Shaus, Rif, and Garet. The dependencies of the province of Fez are very extensive, and include several mountains abounding in inhabitants, and well cultivated.

Mount Atlas is the eastern boundary of all the western provinces of Morocco. This mountain is formed by an endless chain of lofty eminences, divided into different countries, inhabited by a multitude of tribes, whose ferocity permits no stranger
to

to approach. I have not been able to obtain a sufficient knowledge of these mountains to describe them accurately : what Leo Africanus has said of them is very vague ; and his account is the less to be regarded, at present, as it is now about three centuries since he wrote, and the face of the country has been in that time totally changed. Nothing, perhaps, would be more interesting to the curiosity of the philosopher, or conduce more to the improvement of our knowledge in natural history, than a journey over Mount Atlas. The climate, though extremely cold in winter, is very healthy and pleasant ; the valleys are well cultivated, abound in fruits, and are diversified by forests and plentiful springs, the streams of which, uniting at a little distance, form great rivers, and lose themselves in the ocean. According to the reports of the Moors, there are many quarries of marble, granite, and other valuable stone, in these mountains : it is probable, there are also mines, but the inhabitants have no idea of these riches ; they consider their liberty, which their
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situation enables them to defend, as the most inestimable of all treasures.

To the east of Mount Atlas in a sandy plain, part of the ancient Numidia, is the kingdom of Tafilet, which was conquered by Joseph Abu Teseffin, one of the first kings of Morocco ; this kingdom was then called Sugulmessa. It is bounded to the north by the neighbouring mountains of Tremecen and Fez, and extends to the south to the province of Gesula, having Vled d'Elgerid, or Biledulgerid, to the east, and Atlas to the west. The city of Sugulmessa, which was formerly the capital of the kingdom of that name, is at present in that of Tafilet. There is no way from Morocco to this province but by crossing one of the extremities of Mount Atlas, that is, either by the side of the province of Sus, or by that of Fez ; the latter road, as it is less sultry, is most frequented.

C H A P. III.

*Of the Cities, Rivers, and Harbours, of the
Empire of Morocco.*

I SHALL not here confine myself to a mere description of the towns and ports of Morocco; to render my observations more useful, I shall subjoin some remarks relative to the navigation of the coast, the convenience of the rivers, ports, and roads, and the trade which may be carried on with the country.

Nature has defended the western coast of Morocco with an almost insurmountable barrier, in the numerous rocks level with the surface of the water which line the shore: a descent would be the more difficult to accomplish as the invaders could not be sure of a retreat, on account of the changes incessantly occasioned by the agitation of the sea and the variations of the tides.

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The towns in this Empire are neither large, numerous, nor populous: The despots, jealous of their authority, and fearful of being deprived of the power they abuse, consider cities and strong places as more favourable to rebellions, and the liberty of the subject, than camps; their towns, therefore, are weakly fortified, and little capable of defence on the land side.

The empire of Morocco is separated on the north from the kingdom of Algiers, by the river Mulluvia, which falls into the Mediterranean. The Emperor is in possession of no place on this northern coast, which coast is known by the name of *Rif*, the few he had having been taken by the Spaniards, who still possess them; such are, Alhufema, Melilla, and Veles de Pegnon, or Gomera.

Melilla, or Melela, is an ancient city, which was probably founded by the Carthaginians. Its name proves that honey was plentiful in its environs. The Goths, who had possessed themselves of it, abandoned it when the Arabs invaded the country.

try. It was forsaken in like manner by the Moors, and seized on by the Spaniards about the beginning of the fifteenth century. Sidy Mahomet ineffectually laid siege to this place in 1774.

Veles de Pegnon, or Gomera, is a castle built on a rock, whence its name is taken. Below this fortress there was anciently a city, called Bedis, supposed to have been founded by the Carthaginians: the Arabs have called it Belis and Velis, whence the name Veles. These two places, surrounded by mountains and forests, were supported by the building of ships, for fishing and piracy, before they were taken by the Spaniards. This part of the coast of Rif is of no utility to navigation. Traversing it from east to west we find the river of Boof-sega, near Tetuan, where the Morocco gallies anchor and winter, protected by a bad fort.

A league and a half from the road up the country is the city of Tetuan, in the province of Garb, inhabited by Moors and Jews, who, most of them, speak Spanish;
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they are commercial, gentle in their manners, and polite. The environs of this city are planted with vineyards and gardens, kept in good order; and the fruits here are better and more carefully nurtured than in the other parts of the empire. Leo Africanus attributes the foundation of this city to the people of Africa. Tetuan was embellished, and its population increased, when the Moors were driven out of Spain: the Europeans of the present century have traded here; and this was the place of residence for several consuls till the year 1770, when the reigning Emperor would no longer permit them to remain, nor again to establish themselves, in this city. This place has preserved a communication with Gibraltar, whence the ships come to victual when the wind is in the west, and does not permit them to make Tangiers. The shore of Tetuan is only safe when the wind is in the west, at which time ships ride secure; but when it veers to the east, they must remain there no longer.

After Tetuan I must speak of Ceuta,
 C 2 which

which belongs to the Spaniards, and which serves as a harbour for small vessels : from thence to Tangiers, the coast, inhabited by Moors and rugged with projecting cliffs, is of no utility to navigation ; there are indeed a few coves where small boats, in case of necessity, may find shelter. Judging by probabilities, this place must have been built by the Carthaginians, and afterward appertained to the Romans, by whom it was colonized. It next became the metropolis of the places which the Goths held in *Hispania Transfretana*, was after that abandoned to the Arabs and the Moors by Count Julian, was taken by the Portugueze in 1415, and is at present under the dominion of Spain.

Tangiers, in the province of Garb, lies about ten leagues from the road of Tetuan, at the western mouth of the Strait. This place, which belonged first to the Romans, and afterward to the Goths, was likewise given up to the Mahometans by Count Julian. It was taken in 1471 by the Portuguese, and given to Charles II., King of England, in 1662, as a marriage portion with

the Princess Catharine of Portugal. The English abandoned it in 1684, after having destroyed the mole and the fortifications. Almost in ruins, at present, it still retains some batteries, in tolerable condition, facing the bay; but these could with difficulty resist any powerful attack. At the bottom of the bay, towards the east, opposite the ruins of old Tangiers, is the mouth of the river, where the Emperor formerly laid up his galleys during winter; but the sand banks and bars, at present, render the river useless.

The situation of the bay of Tangiers is, and always will be, favourable to Moorish piracy, who, from this the narrowest part of the Strait, may easily surprise merchant ships, that are incapable of defence.

Tangiers cannot become a commercial town, having but few productions in its environs; the Spaniards thence obtained some fowls and vegetables, formerly, and the English, at present, supplies for their garrison at Gibraltar.

The bay of Tangiers is not very safe when the wind is in the west, having been encumbered by the ruins of the mole and fortification; the cables are liable to be torn, and the ships to be driven on shore. The best anchorage, for frigates and the larger vessels, is at the eastern point, whence they may easily set sail whichever way the wind sets; the bay, however, is only dangerous during the winter.

To the west of Tangiers is Cape Spartel, which must be doubled to make Arzilla, that lies only five leagues from Tangiers. Arzilla is built at the mouth of a river, and inhabited by Moors and Jews, who carry on no trade; it was formerly a Roman colony, afterward fell under the government of the Goths, and was next taken by the Mahometans. Alphonso of Portugal, surnamed the African, mastered it in 1471: and it was abandoned by the Portuguese toward the end of the sixteenth century.

Coasting along to the south we find, at the distance of twelve leagues, the city of
Laracha,

Laracha, built on the river Luccos, which is the Lixos of the Greeks. The name of this city comes from the Arabic El-Arrais, which signifies a place abounding in gardens: perhaps its founders were desirous to preserve the memory of the garden of the Hesperides, which is supposed to have been here situated. The environs of this place, intersected by woods and some marshes, are exceedingly pleasant; and it would be very proper for trade, the river having a sufficient depth of water, and the neighbourhood being capable of furnishing products for Europe.

Laracha was fortified by Muley Nasser at the end of the sixteenth century, was afterwards given up to Spain in 1610, and retaken in 1689 by Muley Ihmael. There is a fort still standing on the land side, which is regular, was built by the Spaniards, and is in good preservation: the castle, beside the road, has been put in good repair some years since, and reinforced by several batteries at the water's edge.

The French bombarded this place in
C 4 1765.

1765, and entered the river to set fire to two Corfairs; but the enterprize, though executed with courage, having been impeded by obstacles not sufficiently foreseen, had not by any means the success expected.

The Europeans have carried on some commerce at Laracha, under the reign of the present Emperor, Sidy Mahomet; but, by one of those alterations the causes of which we are ignorant, he obliged all the merchants to retire in 1780,

The passage of the river of Laracha is of sufficient depth; the large vessels of the Emperor usually winter there, where there are magazines for the refitting of vessels, but no docks for building, the wood proper for which is too distant, and the soil, which is merely sand, not being sufficiently firm for the erecting of stocks. The road of Laracha is insecure in winter when the winds freshen from the west and south west, but there is no danger between the beginning of April and the end of September.

From

From Laracha to Mamora, containing about twenty leagues by land, the face of the country is variegated by divers lakes, forests, and vallies, which formerly were tolerably populous. Among these vallies, as we approach Mamora, we meet with lakes of soft water, which are nearly eight leagues in extent, abounding in ducks and water fowl, and where eels are taken in great numbers. The boats made use of by the fishermen are a kind of skiffs made of reeds and rushes, about six feet long and two broad, and will scarcely hold a man. The fisherman guides them with a pole, and pierces the eels, when he sees them in the water, with a sort of dart. On the banks of these lakes are to be seen several sanctuaries of the Maraboots, who are held in great veneration for their supposed holiness, and a number of camps of the Moors, who cultivate the neighbouring lands, which are but moderately productive. This valley is extremely pleasant in winter and spring, but in summer it is parched and disagreeable. At the southern extremity is a sanctuary on an eminence, appertaining to which are habitations and

and gardens. Hence we perceive the windings of the river Seboo, which takes its course from Fez, and uniting with the Beth falls into the ocean. This river, which is crossed in boats much out of repair, is at about the distance of a league from the sanctuary, and is the boundary between the province of Garb and that of Beni-Hassen.

The fort of Mamora, which is to the south of the Seboo, is the first inhabited place in the province of Beni-Hassen. It was begun by the Portuguese in 1515, and destroyed the same year by the Moors. It was rebuilt in 1604 by the Spaniards, from whom it was taken by Muley Ishmael in 1681. This fortress, which was originally built at the mouth of the river Seboo, is now two miles distant from it, in consequence of the drifted sand-banks and bars, which have rendered the entrance of this river so difficult and dangerous as to be no longer of any use to commerce or navigation. There are at this fort about five-and-thirty or forty families, who gain a wretched livelihood by the profits of their ferry,

ferry, and fishing for shads, of which they take such numbers as to be able to supply all the neighbouring country between November and the end of March.

From Mamora it is five leagues to Sallee. This town is situated in the province of Beni-Haffen, at the mouth of the river of Sallee, which is formed by the union of the two smaller rivers, the Buregreb and the Gueroo. The river of Sallee was formerly a port capable of receiving large ships; but the sand has now so choaked up the entrance, that ships of two hundred tons cannot enter it till their guns and ballast are taken out. This town was taken in 1261 by Don Alphonso X., King of Castile; but he was not able to keep it, the King of Fez retaking it immediately after.

Sallee is a walled town, and has a battery, of twenty-four pieces of cannon, which commands the road, and a redoubt which defends the entrance of the river. To the north we perceive the walls and ruins of a small inhabited town, which

Muley

Muley Ishmael caused to be built for the families of his black soldiers.

On the south side of the river of Sallee is the town of Rabat. These two places are so near each other that they ought not to be separated. As they are united by the same interests, they for some time formed a kind of union, and were governed by the same magistrates; and it is only within these thirty years that the reigning Emperor has abolished this form of government. There has been formerly, and at intervals, a number of European factories at Rabat; but the difficulty of navigating the river, the obstacles arising from the arbitrary power of the Sovereign, and the disposition and prejudices of the Moors, have disgusted the Europeans. Rabat is, however, the most proper place for trade of any upon this coast, both for its vicinity to Europe and the quantity of wool, leather, and wax, it is capable of furnishing. From its central situation, in the empire, it is also better adapted for conveying the commodities imported to every part of the country; but
a despotic

a despotic government acknowledges no principle but the convenience of the moment; it commands, judges, and executes without considering either cause or consequence.

At Rabat, near the mouth of the river, are to be seen the ruins of a castle, built by Jacob Almonfor, or Al-Manfor, in the twelfth century, but entirely demolished by the reigning Emperor, who has only preserved some magazines remarkable for their strength and solidity. In this castle, which I have seen before it was destroyed, was the palace of Jacob Almonfor, where every thing, either necessary or convenient, was to be found in miniature. Under the palace were subterranean magazines for ammunition, vaulted so that they were bomb proof. There was, also, fronting the road, a small fort and a battery that defended the entrance of the river, but which have been laid in ruins by time. These batteries were rebuilt in 1774 on a more extensive plan; but the workman who constructed them (an English renegado and an excellent mason) has made the embrasures
so

so near each other that it will be difficult to use them with any effect. Other batteries have also been erected, lower down, to prevent a landing. At a small distance from the castle, toward the south, on an eminence, is a little square fort, built by Muley Archid, or Arshid. This fort, which at present stands alone, formerly was joined to the castle by a wall, which served as a covered way, but which has been demolished by the reigning Emperor.

Jacob Almonfor, being desirous to fix his residence at Rabat, and make it at the same time a place of strength, and the magazine of his arms, that he might from thence more easily pass into Spain, of which he was Sovereign, built the walls, which still remain. They are near two miles round, and fortified by square towers. They enclose the castle, the town of Rabat *, and a large

* The city was built on the eastern declivity, beside the palace of Muley Arshid. The houses, according to Moorish tradition, had been built by Spanish slaves, with little solidity, purposely that they might fall upon the Moors, which actually happened : the slaves were punished with death at the

a large space of ground, where that prince built beautiful palaces, and laid out delightful gardens, watered by plentiful streams which he brought from the neighbouring spring *. These walls, as well as the palace and the town, were built by Spanish slaves, whom he took prisoners in his first campaign.

This Monarch built within the same inclosure a very large mosque, the ruins of which still remain. The roof was supported by three hundred and sixty columns of rough marble. Beside the eastern front were apartments for those who had any employment in the mosque, and porticoes, which were still standing in 1773. On the opposite side was a handsome square tower, strongly built with cut stone. It is near two hundred feet high, and called the

the iron gate of the grand inclosure, where there are five gates, that of the sea, that of Morocco, that of the mount, the iron gate, and the gate of Shella, or Chella.

* These waters come from a valley called Tamara, to the south of Rabat, where there is a bubbling spring not far from that which supplies Rabat with water.

tower

the tower of Hassen. This tower has the same form, the same ornaments, the same staircase, and the same proportions as those of Seville and Morocco; and, according to all tradition, is the work of the same architect. From this tower we have an extensive view over the sea, and ships may be discovered at a prodigious distance. This monument is in perfect preservation, notwithstanding the natural propensity of the Moors to destroy every thing. The staircase only has been a little damaged, as has the east-south-east corner, which has been beaten down by lightning. At a small distance from this tower, on the north side, are still to be seen the ruins of a wall, on which formerly stood a castle.

After that series of revolutions which so long convulsed the empire of Morocco, the Moorish inhabitants possessed themselves of the ground of this vast inclosure, and planted gardens and vineyards, which rendered it extremely agreeable: but the reigning Emperor, notwithstanding the land had been private property for three hundred years, and transmitted to the

the possessors by their ancestors for many generations, reclaimed it in 1774 as the right of the crown, seized every thing he found on it, and built a town for those soldiers who have still preserved the name of Negroes; but, these troops having been disbanded, the town has been deserted, and nothing now remains of it but a heap of ruins. This Monarch, in 1785, began to erect a palace here, in which he proposes to reside, if no new caprice should induce him to alter his intentions.

There are some docks for building ships at Sallee and Rabat; but the difficulty of navigating the channel, and the probability that the sand will continue to accumulate, give ground to predict that, very soon, only vessels with oars will be able to enter the river.

The road of Sallee is only to be frequented in the fine season, from the beginning of April to the end of September; when the wind blows from the south south west, which seldom happens but in winter, this road is no longer safe;

ships are exposed to be driven out to sea, and the shifting of the sands of the bar render any communication with the town extremely difficult. The best anchorage to be found is on the south side of the river next Rabat, and the ship should be moored between the tower of the mosque and that called Hassen, having the latter to the north. Great attention should be paid to the cables, as a great number of anchors have here been lost.

On the eastern side of Rabat we meet with a small ruinous town called Shella, which contains many Moorish tombs, held in great veneration. The town itself is considered as a sacred asylum, and is only permitted to be entered by Mahometans. It seems probable this was the metropolis of the Carthaginian colonies on the western coast of Africa.

Eight leagues from Rabat, toward the south, in the province of Temsena, we find a wretched castle, named Mensooria: it was built in the twelfth century, by Jacob Almonfor, to afford an asylum to travellers

travellers during the night, the inhabitants of the country round it being a mischievous and thievish people.

Proceeding along the same coast, eight leagues from Mensooria, we arrive at the road of Fedala. The name of island is improperly given to a little point of land which projects into the sea, and forms a bay scarcely sufficient to shelter a few small vessels. The reigning Emperor, in 1773, having permitted a great quantity of corn to be brought out of the matamores * contiguous to this road, endeavoured to take advantage of the opportunity to procure a city to be built, by obliging the merchants, who wished to have any of the corn, to build some houses; in consequence of which the town of Fedala was begun in a very advantageous situation, but no sooner was the corn disposed of than it was abandoned. Such is the brief

* Matamores are holes dug in the earth, in which corn is long preserved, as will be more circumstantially related in the account I shall give of the manners and customs of the Moors.

history of Fedala, a town ruined before it was finished; and such is indeed the history of nearly the whole country.

As this road is defended by the coast, which, on the southern side, perceptibly extends to the west, ships may anchor here in security in winter; but, in summer, when the winds blow strong from the north north west, the swell of the sea is very inconvenient.

Four leagues to the south of Fedala we meet with Anafa, at present called Dar Beyda, a town formerly in the possession of the Portuguese, but of which nothing now remains but some ruins, among which are a number of Moorish huts. It is situated near a pleasant bay, and in an extensive plain, which, if well cultivated, would be very fertile.

Fifteen leagues from Anafa, or Dar Beyda, by following the coast toward the south, we arrive at the town of Azamore, in the province of Duquella, on the river
Morbeya,

Morbeya*, and at some distance from its mouth. This town is not proper for maritime commerce, because the entrance of the river is dangerous. Azamore was unsuccessfully besieged by the Portuguese in 1508; it was taken, however, in 1513, by the Duke of Braganza, but abandoned about the end of the sixteenth century.

At a little distance from Azamore, facing a spacious bay, are the ruins of the ancient city of Titus, which I imagine likewise to have been one of the cities founded by order of the Senate of Carthage. Near the same place are the ruins of Almedina, a town built by the Moors.

Beside the same bay, four leagues to the south of Azamore, is situated the city of Mazagan, which was built by the Portuguese in 1506, and named by them Castillo Real. Under the walls of this place,

* The true name of this river is Om-Arbaym; that is to say, forty springs, or forty mothers, and it is called Morbeya only by a corruption of the word.

on the north side, a dock has been made, which will admit small vessels; but large ships are obliged to anchor two leagues out at sea, on account of the cape of Azamore, which stretches to the west, and which it would be difficult to double if a south-west wind should drive them from their anchors. Mazagan was besieged without effect in 1562 by the Sharif of Morocco, and remained in the possession of the Portuguese till 1769, when the present Emperor laid siege to it just as it was determined to be abandoned by the court of Lisbon. The Moors of the province of Duquella, who carried on a clandestine trade with the Portuguese, greatly regret that it has changed its master.

The town of Mazagan is at present entirely ruined, and almost uninhabited. The Moors have taken away the timber of the houses, and left the walls standing. I saw, in 1781, a cistern, still remaining, though damaged by the bombs, which deserves the notice of travellers for the elegance of its construction: the descent is by stairs; the effusion of light is splendid, and the

the vaulted roof is supported by twenty-four very regular columns. At a little distance to the south west of Mazagan is an old tower, called Borisha; whence the name of Bridja, which the Moors confound with that of Mazagan.

When this town belonged to the Portuguese, the southern Moors, who were not able to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, imagined the neglect of this devotion might be compensated by coming and discharging their muskets at the Christian town of Mazagan. One of these fanatics having been killed by a cannon shot from the place, his comrades buried him as a saint, and carried away the ball as a trophy of victory; they took care, however, for the future, to fire their pieces at a greater distance.

Twelve leagues from Mazagan, proceeding along the coast, we find the town of Valedia situated in a stony plain, extremely incommodious to the traveller. Here is a very spacious natural basin, surrounded by rocks, which would contain more than

a thousand ships ; but the entrance, which is narrow, and entirely open to the west, is equally difficult and dangerous. The coast of Valedia is lined with rocks near thirty feet high, which anciently must have been washed by the sea, the Moors living in the caverns the waters have hollowed out. At the bottom of these rocks the sands, heaped up during successive ages, have formed an extensive and pleasant plain, where the Moors cultivate pulse and vegetables, which they sell in the province of Duquella, where the want of water renders all kind of garden productions extremely scarce,

The little town of Valedia is only a circle of walls, containing but few habitations. Its name indicates that it was built under the reign of Muley Valid, who died in 1647. This town seems to be situated nearly on the same spot where Leo Africanus places Conte, which, he says, was built by the Africans twenty miles from Saffi. Marmol has copied him exactly ; but, by some mistake in the name, confounds Conte with cape Cottés, at present
cape

cape Spartel, which is a hundred leagues more to the north.

Eight leagues from Valedia toward the south, after doubling cape Cantin, we arrive at the town of Saffi, the only one in the province of Abda. This place is very ancient, and was probably one of the cities built by the Carthaginians. The Portuguese made themselves masters of it in 1508, and abandoned it in 1641, after having resisted every effort of the Sharifs, who were not able to take it from them.

Saffi was long the centre of the commerce carried on with Europe. The French, who had several factories there before the peace, and who resided there, confiding in the laws of hospitality, brought thence great quantities of wool, wax, gum and leather; but the present Emperor having made Mogodor a principal port, Saffi has no longer any trade. This town has a very fine road, where ships may anchor very safely, except in winter, when the winds blow from the south or south west,

west, for they are then sure to be driven out to sea.

The environs of Saffi are a dry and parched desert, and the Moors of the town rude, fanatical, and unsociable. There are a number of tombs, or asylums of saints at the entrance of this town, which have been made a pretext for obliging the Jews to enter it barefooted; nor was any Christian till lately permitted to ride in on horseback. I was the first who freed the Europeans from this ridiculous restriction, to which they had long been subjected; and it is only since 1767, when I resided a whole year at Saffi, after the peace, that they have been allowed to go in or out of this town on horseback*.

About five leagues to the south of Saffi is the river of Tanfis, which is the boundary of the province of Abda. This river

* This ridiculous devotion first began toward the close of the seventeenth century; for the Portuguese, who were masters of that place, did not abandon it till the year 1641.

rises in Mount Atlas, and, taking its course near Morocco, falls into the Atlantic ocean. At the mouth of this river, on the northern side, amid some sands and marshes, are the ruins of a small town, called by the Moors Suera, from which the unwholesomeness of the air, or the inundations of the Tanfis, has driven the inhabitants. On the other side of the Tanfis, which is passed by fording, or on rafts made of reeds tied to leathern bags filled with wind, we find a square castle, built in the reign of Muley Ishmael, to defend the passage of the river during the time of the intestine disturbances of the empire. This castle at present only contains a few families, and the country round it is not cultivated.

From the Tanfis it is eighteen leagues to Mogodor, in the province of Hea. The intermediate country is interspersed with valleys, which are tolerably pleasant, though stony, and in which, from time to time, we meet with cultivation. This place, which the Moors call, indifferently, Suera, or Mogodor, receives its name from a saint,
held

held here in great veneration by the name of Sidi Mogodoor, whose tomb is to be seen at a small distance to the south of the town. Mogodor formerly had a wretched castle, built by the Portuguese, to preserve a communication with their settlements to the south of this coast. This castle protected also the entrance of a harbour, formed by a channel between the main land and a small island. Such a situation appearing favourable to make it a place of trade, the present Emperor resolved to found a city here, and the wealthier Moors began to build houses to please their Sovereign. Foreign merchants were invited to do the same, and, to induce them, large abatements were offered in the custom duties. These promises, however, though solemnly made, were not so scrupulously observed.

This city, which was begun in 1760, is now compleatly finished: it contains a great number of houses, handsomely and solidly built. The streets are all straight lines, and there is no town in the empire

in

in which we see such a regularity of plan*. It is surrounded with walls, and batteries are erected, not only on the sea side but toward the land, to defend it from any incursion of the southern Moors. In case of an attack, however, this city, which has no water, and is half a league distant from the river, would soon be at the mercy of the enemy.

The present Emperor has brought all the European merchants to settle at Mogodor; and, distant as it is from Europe, it is the only port on the coast which maintains a continued commercial intercourse with that quarter of the world. This city stands on marshy ground, and so low that, at spring-tides, it is almost surrounded by the sea. The country about it

* A French engineer, named Cornut, from the country near Avignon, who, seeking his fortune, crossed from Gibraltar to Morocco, laid the foundations of the town of Mogodor. He was kindly received by the Emperor, who desired to distinguish his reign by the foundation of a new city; but after ten years service this engineer returned to France as poor as he went. The city was afterwards finished by renegadoes and masons brought from Europe.

is a melancholy desert of accumulated sand. The Europeans, however, enjoy here the advantage of a more easy communication with the southern provinces, which, by exchanging their productions for the commodities of Europe, render the trade of this place very flourishing.

The port of Mogodor is formed by a channel, between the main land and an island more than a mile in length. The entrance of this channel is to the north west, and its outlet to the south. It is sufficiently large for ships of a middling size, but in general it has not sufficient depth; which disadvantage is increased every day by the accumulation of the sand. The number of ships which have been lost in this port in winter, by violent storms from the south west, sufficiently prove how very dangerous it is in bad weather.

Following the coast, to the south, about thirty-five leagues from Mogodor, we arrive at the town of Santa Cruz, in the province of Suz, called by the Arabs
Aguadir,

Aguadir, or Cape Aguer. The spacious bay of this place and the neighbouring sea abound greatly in fish. A Portuguese gentleman built a wooden house on this coast for the purpose of fishing, and found it a very profitable undertaking. The Moors called this place *El dar del Roomi*; that is, the house of the Roman. Don Emanuel, King of Portugal, perceiving the importance of this post for the preservation of the conquests he had already made, and facilitating those he meditated, bought the ground about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and built there a fortress called Santa Cruz, which was taken from the Portuguese in 1536. This town was long the centre of an extensive commerce, and different European nations had several factories there till 1773, when the Emperor obliged them to remove to Mogodor, after demolishing the fortifications of Santa Cruz. It has been imagined that this Prince, whose character is such that no very certain judgement can be formed of the motives of his actions, was induced to this measure for fear the Spaniards should besiege Santa Cruz, while he was occupied

plied in the siege of Melilla, which he undertook in 1774.

The port of Santa Cruz is a large and very secure bay, capable of containing a great number of ships, and well defended from the wind on every side. The communication between this place and the southern provinces renders it more convenient for commerce than any other on the coast.

Beyond Santa Cruz there is no frequented port. The country of Tarudant, which is to the south of this place, and which is a part of the province of Suz, is the southern boundary of the Empire of Morocco.

The country of Vled de Nun, which is next to the province of Suz, is separated from it by sandy deserts. The Emperor of Morocco, indeed, as I have observed at the beginning of this chapter, arrogates to himself the sovereignty of Vled de Nun; but his real authority is here extremely feeble. This vast, but desert, province affords

fords not a single harbour or anchoring place along a coast of sixty leagues, that is, quite to cape Bajador. It is inhabited by different tribes of Arabs, whose camps are scattered over such parts of the interior country as are capable of cultivation. The side next the sea is a sandy shore, lined with rocks under water, over which the waves break violently. Ships are often driven on this coast by rapid currents formed between the Continent and the Canary islands, and Spanish, English, and French vessels, are frequently shipwrecked*. When such a misfortune happens the fate of the unhappy mariners is most deplorable; they are immediately seized and stripped by the Arabs, who, not-

* These accidents, which may depend on a concatenation of unlucky circumstances, have often been occasioned by the ignorance of the mariners, as we may be convinced from the deposition of those who have escaped after shipwreck. They might be prevented, by subjecting vessels destined for the coast of Africa to pass to the west of the Canaries, and especially by examining, with more severity, the orders of Captains, and supplying ships, intended to make long voyages, with three officers capable of command, the Captain included.

withstanding the laws observed among themselves in their robberies, take from each other their slaves and booty by open force. Their wretched prisoners are exposed to hunger, thirst, the caprices of their masters, and every humiliation of misery. To the shame of humanity, they are bought and sold, and frequently exchanged for camels, or other beasts, in the markets of the deserts. The Emperor of Morocco uses all his influence to procure these unfortunate sufferers to be delivered up to him; but the slowness of the negotiations, and the obstacles met with at every step, render their issue very uncertain; and should they even be surrendered to this Prince, his justice and generosity must again be long, and patiently solicited, before they are finally set at liberty*.

In these southern climates Mahometanism is mixed with more superstitions than even among the people of Morocco. The

* The seamen of a ship from Nantz, in the Guinea trade, which was shipwrecked on this coast about the end of the year 1775, were two years before they returned to France.

heat inflaming the imagination multiplies the number of fanatics, who, under the name of saints, impose on the piety and credulity of the people. They have neither mosques nor any stated places for their prayers, but pray in their tents, or wherever they happen to be; and, when they want water, make their ablutions with sand, as is permitted them by their law. The spirit of pillage keeps the people of these countries in constant motion; they traverse the deserts quite to Nigritia, whence they even carry off the Negroes. They regulate their route, and judge of their approach to rivers by the flight of certain birds.

The province of Vled de Nun has a considerable trade. After having passed the deserts, that separate it from Morocco, we find many tracts of land capable of cultivation, and which produce gums and excellent wax. As these people are so far removed from the reach of tyranny as to live in a kind of independence, luxuries are more indulged among them; and they make use of many European commodi-

ties, especially linen. Several of these Arab tribes are more affable and honest than the other Moors. They trade to Mogodor, but with reserve and circumspection, that they may not expose their riches to the uncertainty of accident. It is probable they have a more immediate communication with the factories of Senegal, with which they may trade with less restraint; and it is only by their means that the western Moors have any intercourse with the people of Nigritia. If it were practicable to form settlements on the coast of cape Bajador, a very profitable commerce might be established with these Arabs; and mariners, who might have the misfortune to be shipwrecked on the coast, would be able to obtain more certain and speedy assistance; but such a plan is exposed to too many difficulties ever to be realized.

As a knowledge of the coast of Morocco is of more utility than descriptions of the inland towns, I have treated this subject more at length; but I shall now proceed to enumerate the cities of the interior
pro-

provinces, which are not many in number, returning from the south to the north.

C H A P. IV.

Inland Cities and Towns of the Empire of Morocco.

THE city of Tarudant, in the province of Suz, is situated almost at the extremity of the empire of Morocco. It was formerly the capital of a small kingdom, and is at present the residence of a governor, in whom great confidence is reposed, or some Sharif related to the Emperor. This province also contains the cities of Climi, Aguadir-Toma, and several other towns, which, as well as Tarudant, are built with stone. As the province of Suz has no harbours, the Moors carry its productions to Mogodor.

Morocco, which has become the metropolis of the empire, and given name to it, was formerly the capital of the kingdom of Morocco, which was bounded by the river Om-Arbaym, or Morbeya. This city is
twenty

twenty leagues from the sea, to the east-south-east of Saffi, and a small distance from Mount Atlas. It is built nearly in the situation, where the ancients placed the *Bocanum Hemerum*.

Abu Tefissin, first King of the Moors, of the race of the *Morabethoon*, or Maraboos, first fixed his residence at the city of Agmet, on the western declivity of Mount Atlas, a little distance from Morocco. Desiring to found a capital for his dominions in a more eligible situation, he chose the spot where Morocco now stands, which is called by the Arabs Marrakesch, and by the Spaniards Marrueccos. This city was begun by that Prince in 1052, and continued by his son and successor Joseph Ben Abu Tefissin, who kept his court here. Its walls are extremely thick, and formed of a cement, composed of lime and sand, which is put in cases, and beaten with rammers. This mortar hardens in time, and turns to stone, especially when the composition is well made, and contains a sufficient quantity of lime *.

* The Spaniards use this mortar, and, like the Moors,

The city of Morocco* is situated in a pleasant plain, planted with palm trees, having Mount Atlas to the east, which has a fine and romantic effect. The numerous streams which meander through this fertile plain render it capable of the highest cultivation. It was formerly divided into a prodigious number of enclosed gardens and beautiful plantations of olive trees, which have, in part, escaped the barbarous devastations of contending factions. More than six thousand springs poured their waters from Mount Atlas to fructify and enrich this plain, which was filled with country houses and pleasure grounds; but these have been all laid in ruins by the revolutions which preceded and distin-

call it *Tapia*: hence, perhaps, the French derive the word *Taper*; that is, to strike upon, or beat with the hand. This, probably, was the manner of building among the ancients. Livy informs us, the walls of *Saguntum* were built with mortar made of earth.

* According to Marmol and Martiniere there was an ancient city called Morocco, mentioned in the Roman history, which Marmol names *Tamarec*. It was situated on the river *Morbeya*, has been destroyed, and now no traces of it remain.

guished

guished the reign of Muley Ishmael ; and it was with difficulty, that, in 1768, the course of twelve hundred streams, which wind through this fertile country was renewed. The city of Morocco itself, exposed to the devastations of different conquerors, has preserved nothing but its form. The extent of the walls, which still exist entire, except in some few places, supposes a city, which might contain three hundred thousand souls : at present this capital is little better than a Desert. The ruins of houses, heaped one upon another, serve only to harbour thieves, who lurk among them to rob the passenger. The quarters, which have been rebuilt, are considerably distant from each other ; and the houses are low, dirty, and extremely inconvenient. It is difficult to conceive how an imperial city can have become so miserable and so deserted. I doubt whether it contains thirty thousand inhabitants, even when the court is there.

Morocco possesses several large mosques, but they have no pretensions to magnificence. One of these has a tower similar
to

to those at Sallee and Seville, and which may be seen at a very great distance. Within the walls are a number of large enclosed spaces, almost entirely detached, containing gardens of orange trees, and pavilions, in which the princes lodge. These pavilions, covered with coloured tiles, are the more remarkable, as the gaiety and splendor of their appearance form a striking contrast with the wretchedness and poverty of the surrounding buildings.

Among the number of the public edifices at Morocco, we must not forget to mention the Elcaissieria*, a place where stuffs, and other valuable commodities, are exposed to sale. We find similar buildings in all the other cities of the empire; but in Barbary they are by no means equal to those of the same kind in Turkey called Bezeftins.

At the extremity of the city of Morocco, and very near the palace, is the

* Eleaiffieria is only a corruption of the word Casarea.

quarter of the Jews, inclosed by walls near two miles round, where the Jews reside, under the guard of an Alcaid, to protect them from insult. This same quarter was formerly the residence of the Spanish nobles, or others of that nation, who, from discontent, or other motives, entered into the service of the Kings of Morocco; and there is still a part of the city, called the quarter of Andalusia. Not less than three thousand Jewish families formerly resided here, as may be estimated by the ruins of houses and synagogues. Of this great number there at present scarcely remain two hundred families, exposed to tyranny and poverty; oppression has obliged all the rest to take refuge among the mountains, where they live more at their ease, notwithstanding the ferocity of the inhabitants of that part of the country.

The Emperor's palace, at the extremity of the city of Morocco, fronting Mount Atlas, is a very extensive and solid building. The principal gates are gothic arches of cut stone, embellished with ornaments in the Arabian taste. Within the walls

are various courts and gardens, elegantly laid out by European gardeners. In each of these gardens is a pavilion, to which the Emperor frequently retires to take his repose, or amuse himself with his courtiers. These pavilions are square pyramidal edifices, about forty feet in length, and somewhat less in height: they are covered with varnished tiles, of various colours; the inside is a kind of spacious hall, that receives light and air from four large doors, in the four sides, which are opened, more or less, according to the position of the sun, or the coolness they may produce. These halls within are painted and gilt in the stile we call arabesque, and ornamented with cartouches, containing passages of the Koran, or other Arabic sentences. The furniture of these apartments is very simple; it consists only of a couch, some arm chairs, tables, and china, or other embellishments; tea equipage, clocks, arms hung round the walls, a water pot, and carpets for prayers.

The pavilion, containing apartments for the Emperor and his women, is in one
of

of these gardens. This is a very spacious building, according to the usual way of living among the Moors: for the taste of different nations, in this respect, always depends on their manners and customs. The furniture of this palace displays no splendid ornaments, but is in a stile of the greatest simplicity. These climates are unacquainted with that profusion of fantastic novelties which are every day multiplied by the industry, luxury, and caprice of Europe.

The present Emperor, who has shewn an exclusive preference to the city of Morocco, had added to his palace a large piece of ground, on which he has caused to be built, by Europeans, regular pavilions, in the midst of gardens. These are of cut stone, have handsome windows, are finished in an excellent taste, and give an air of grandeur and magnificence to this part of the palace which we do not see any where else. Between these pavilions and the old palace is a large vacant space, inclosed with walls, called Meshooar, where the Emperor gives public audience four times

times in a week. This place is entered from without the town by a large gate, which is only opened an hour before the Meshhoar.

Mount Atlas, the boundary of the plain of Morocco, is situated at a small distance to the east of the city. This is the highest part of that mountain, the vallies of which, flourishing with trees and verdure, and contrasted with the snows on the summit, have a singular and picturesque effect. This chain of mountains defends the environs of Morocco from the east wind, which would be burning in summer, while the snows, that cover their tops, temper, at the same time, the heat of the climate. The nights there are constantly cool, and it is only from nine in the morning, till four or five in the afternoon, that any great heat is felt. The cold is sensibly felt in the winter, because of the snow which falls on the mountains; but the climate is extremely healthy. Foreigners, however, do not find Morocco an agreeable residence, for the houses are inconvenient and full of bugs; and, in summer, the
multi-

multitudes of scorpions, serpents, and gnats, are inexpressly troublesome.

About a league from Morocco is the river Tanfis, which rises in Mount Atlas, and falls into the Atlantic Ocean, a little to the south of Saffi. This river may be forded in the fine season; it has, however, a bridge of brick, of considerable length, but not kept in repair, built about the end of the sixteenth century by the Portuguese slaves, who survived the defeat of the army of Don Sebastian.

Beside the streams which rise in Mount Atlas, and flow through the country round Morocco, some writers have described as a wonderful work, the aqueducts that bring water to the city and its environs; these, however, are only subterranean conduits, open at intervals, rudely made, and sunken in the earth about fifteen or twenty feet, according to the level of the ground. It is impossible to survey, without veneration, these first efforts of the industry of mankind, that seem to remind us of the birth of the arts; but we are not to con-
found

found or compare these barbarous works with other monuments of the same kind, which are such noble proofs of the improvements in those same arts, and the magnificence of nations.

At a little distance from Morocco, on the western declivity of Mount Atlas, stand the city of Agmet, which was for some time the residence of the first Kings of Morocco, that of Aminey, and several wretched villages, inhabited by Jews, who have fled from the capital to avoid oppression and extortion. The soil of this whole country is very fertile, as are all the vallies of these noble mountains, which are inhabited by the Brebés, or Berebs, who are almost independant.

After Muley Ishmael had united the small kingdoms which form the empire, he determined to have two imperial cities, that he might the more easily keep his people in subjection, by removing alternately from one to the other. Morocco was the imperial city of the south; and Mequinez, which that prince greatly embellished
and

and enlarged, became the metropolis in the north.

The city of Mequinez is situated at the extremity of the province of Beni-Hassen, eighty leagues north of Morocco, and twenty leagues east of Sallee and the sea. The founder of this city, named Makhassa, first built it at the bottom of a valley; but Muley Ishmael made it considerably larger, by building in the plain to the west. The city is surrounded by vallies and eminences highly cultivated, ornamented with gardens and plantations of olive trees, and watered by a variety of streams; the fruits and vegetables therefore are of an excellent flavour. The inhabitants themselves, by an increase of civility, seem to prove the milder temperature of the climate. The winter, indeed, is very disagreeable from the quantity of mud which then accumulates in this city and the environs, because the streets are not paved, and the soil is clay.

The city of Mequinez is surrounded with walls; the palace itself is fortified

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with two bastions, in which there formerly was some small artillery. Muley Ishmael and Muley Abdallah have often defended themselves in this city against the utmost efforts of the Brebes, when they have conspired against their tyranny. On the western side are still to be seen some walls of circumvallation, six feet in height, which probably were only intrenchments for the infantry, as the attacks of the Brebes were merely sudden and momentary incursions, which did not require any long defence.

There is in Mequinez, as in Morocco, a quarter walled in and guarded for the Jews. The houses are handsomer here than in that at Morocco; the Jews are more numerous, and make greater profit by their industry, because the Moors of Mequinez are richer, and, as they are nearer, have a greater intercourse with Europe than those of the southern provinces.

Contiguous to the quarter of the Jews is another, inclosed with walls, but now in ruins, called the negro town. It was built
by

by Muley Ishmael for the families of his black soldiers. Nothing now remains of it but the walls, as is the case with all the places intended for the same purpose throughout the empire.

At the extremity of the city, on the south-east side, is the Emperor's palace, built by Muley Ishmael after a plan of his own *. This is a very extensive building, including several gardens, well laid out, and watered by abundant streams. I have visited every part of this palace by permission of the Emperor ; for, without that, it may not be entered. There is a large garden in the centre, surrounded by a spacious and tolerably regular gallery, supported by columns, which maintains a communication between the apartments. Those of the women, which are much less peopled than they were in the reign of Muley Ishmael, are very large, and terminate in one common chamber, built on a causeway

* This palace was greatly damaged by the earthquake, which destroyed Lisbon, November 1, 1755.

that divides the great garden, where the women may look out at the window through an iron lattice. As we pass from one apartment to another, we meet at intervals with regular courts, paved with squares of black and white marble. In the middle of these courts is a marble basin, on which is raised a round shell; in the centre of this is a fountain that plays into the basin. There are many such fountains, in the palace, that supply water for various purposes, and those ablutions which the scruples of the Mahometans have so multiplied, especially those preceding their prayers, which, on common days, they repeat in the place where they happen to be; but on Fridays they are obliged to go to the mosque.

The palaces of the Moorish Kings are the more spacious as all the apartments are on the ground floor. These are large, long, narrow rooms, eighteen or twenty feet high. They are but little ornamented, and receive light and air from two large folding doors, that are opened, more or less, as occasion requires. The apartments
always

always receive light from a square court, the sides of which, with few exceptions, are embellished by collonades.

They make at Mequinez and Fez a kind of glazed tiles, similar to what we call Dutch tiles, of different colours; these they use to pave their rooms and face their walls, whence their houses have an air of coolness and neatness we do not meet with in other towns of the empire.

The Moors of Mequinez are much more affable and engaging than those of the southern provinces. They are very civil to strangers, inviting them to their gardens, and entertaining them with the utmost politeness. The women in this part of the empire are extremely handsome; they are very fair, have fine black eyes, and beautiful teeth. I have sometimes seen them taking the air on their terraces; they do not hide themselves from the Europeans; but if a Moor appears, they retire immediately.

There is, both at Mequinez and Morocco,

a hospitium, or convent, of Spanish recolects, founded more than a hundred years ago, by the munificence of the Kings of Spain, for the benefit and spiritual comfort of the Christian captives. These two convents are much respected in the country, both for the exemplary lives of the fathers, and the service they are of to the poor, whom they supply with medicines, gratis. As their charity, however, was much abused, because the Moors, who are fond of remedies they do not pay for, made an indiscreet use of them, without observing any regimen, the friar, who acts as apothecary, composed a mixture of water, honey, and a few simples, which is refused to nobody, and called the Decoction, or Ptisan, of the Sharif. The Moors have recourse to the fathers, whenever they are indisposed, which exposes the latter to many inconveniences, when their endeavours are not successful.

Besides the cities of Morocco and Mequinez, which are two imperial cities, that of Fez is also one of the principal in the empire. It even ought to have precedence
of

of those two capitals, as it is the more ancient, and gave name to the first monarchy in Africa, after the Moors had embraced Mahometanism. It is, besides, the only city in the empire distinguished by a taste for the sciences, and the industry of its inhabitants.

The city of Fez, the capital of the kingdom of the same name, was built about the end of the eighth century by Edris, the descendant of Mahomet and Ali, whose father, flying from Medina to avoid the proscriptions of the Caliph Abdallah, retired to the extremity of Africa, and was proclaimed sovereign by the Moors. Sidy Edris, succeeding to the crown of his father, founded the city of Fez in 793, and built the mosque in which he is buried. From that time the city of Fez has been considered by the Moors as a sacred asylum, and an object of devotion. In the first moments of that zeal which every religious novelty inspires, a still larger mosque was built at Fez, and called Carubin, because it was founded by the Arabs of Cairoan. This is one of the finest edifices in the

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empire,

empire, and, perhaps, in Africa. Many other mosques were afterwards built successively at Fez ; to which were annexed, according to the custom of the Mahometans, colleges and hospitals ; and this city was held in so high a degree of veneration that, when the pilgrimage to Mecca was interrupted, in the fourth century of the Hejira, the western Mahometans, as a substitute, repaired to Fez, while the eastern journeyed to Jerusalem.

When the Arabs had extended themselves in Asia, Africa, and Europe, they brought to Fez the knowledge they had acquired in the arts and sciences ; and, to its religious schools, this capital added academies for philosophy, physic, and astronomy. The latter insensibly degenerated ; ignorance gave credit to astrology, the constant companion of superstition, which, in its turn, gave birth to the arts of magic and divination.

Fez, resorted to from almost all Africa, and the object of the devout pilgrimages of the Mahometans, soon became the rendez-

vous

vous of the neighbouring provinces. The increase of wealth introduced the love of pleasure, and every species of luxury; licentiousness quickly followed; and as its progress in hot countries is always most rapid, Fez, the school of sciences and manners, soon became the sink of every vice. The public baths, which health, cleanliness, and custom, rendered necessary, became the receptacles of debauchery, into which men were introduced in the dress of women; and the youth of the city ranged the streets, after sun set, in the same disguise, to prevail upon strangers to go with them to the inns, which were rather houses of prostitution than places for the convenience and repose of travellers.

The usurpers, who, after the tenth century, disputed the kingdom of Fez, connived at these abuses, and contented themselves with subjecting the masters of the inns to furnish a number of cooks for the army. To this indulgence the city of Fez owed its first splendor, and the greater part of its riches. As the inhabitants were handsome and engaging, the Africans resorted

sorted thither in crouds; and the subversion of all morals became a pretended source of political advantage. The same depraved inclinations still exist in the hearts of all the Moors, though libertinism is no longer authorised; but there, as every where else, is so far stigmatised with shame as to blush at a discovery.

The Mahometans of Andalusia, Grenada, and Cordova, during the revolutions of Spain, passed over to Fez, whither they brought new manners, knowledge, and, perhaps, some shades of civilization. They taught the Spanish method of dressing and dying red and yellow goat and sheep skins, then called Cordovan leather, now Morocco, from the city of that name, where, however, the dye is least in perfection. At Fez, likewise, they first established the manufacture of milled woollen caps, worn by the Moors and Eastern nations*. Gauzes, silks, stuffs, and beautiful fashes,

* These sugar-loaf caps are called Fez by the Turks, which proves they were named from this city. The people of

fashes, wrought in gold and silver, are made at Fez ; and the little they do proves how much might be done, were industry encouraged,

Some love of learning is still preserved at Fez, where Arabic is better spoken than in the other parts of the empire : the rich Moors send their children to the schools of Fez, where they gain more instruction than they could do elsewhere. Leo Africanus, informs us, that there was a prize in his time appointed for the best poem written by the scholars in praise of Mahomet, and that the prize poems were examined on the birth day of the Prophet. Clenard went to Fez in 1540 to study more perfectly the Arabic tongue. He says, that there were many men of letters there at that time, that Grammar was taught in the schools, and that the remainder of their studies related to their reli-

of Tunis have brought the manufacturing of them to perfection, which has been less successfully attempted in France,

gion

gion and ceremonies: He adds, there were no booksellers at Fez, but that, at certain seasons of the year, sales were held on the Friday in the Grand Mosque, and that the Moors cheapened without a desire to buy.

Leo Africanus has given a description of the city of Fez in the sixteenth century, which has been faithfully copied by Marmol; and it appears, that the narratives of those who have written voyages and travels in their studies have transcribed these writers. Leo Africanus, born at Grenada, and educated at Fez, having, while very young, been taken at sea, was conveyed to Rome. The little knowledge and taste he possessed, for taste can only be acquired by habits of seeing and comparing the most perfect models, did not suffer him to perceive all the beauties of that capital; and, prepossessed by the impressions his memory still retained, he wrote a very florid description of Fez. I had every liberty of examining this city, which is one of the most agreeable of the Moorish empire; but the minute circumstances related
by

by Leo are unworthy the attention of the traveller. The mosque of Carubin is the only remarkable public building, and that cannot be freely examined. The city contains some tolerably convenient inns, two or three stories high, with galleries toward the court, which is always in the centre, and admits light to the apartments. They have no appearance of grandeur whatever toward the streets, which are ill paved, and so narrow, that in many places two horsemen cannot ride abreast. Their shops make no shew, and should rather be called stalls, there being just room enough for a sedentary Moor, who never moves, and the packets that are heaped round him, to which he points as passengers arrive. Fez, which, in past ages, attracted the attention of travellers, is no way preferable to the other cities of the empire, except by its situation, schools, industry, and somewhat more of urbanity: yet, though more polished than their countrymen, the Moors of Fez are vain, superstitious, and intolerant. The Saints, whom they pretend have been buried in that city, serve them for a pretext to forbid its entrance to Jews
and

and Christians ; and an order from the Emperor is necessary to gain admission.

The situation of Fez is remarkable for its singularity ; it is seated at the bottom of a valley, and surrounded by hills in the form of a funnel, flattened at the narrow end. The upper part of the valley is divided into gardens, planted with high trees, orange groves, and orchards. A river winds along the valley, watering it in various directions, turning by its declivity a number of mills, and supplying water in abundance to all the gardens and most of the houses. The descending road impeded by, and entangled among, these gardens, is much lengthened. The city stands in the centre of a vast circumference, the variety of which is exceedingly agreeable.

The gardens seen from the city form a most delightful amphitheatre. Each garden formerly had its country house, where the inhabitants passed their summer ; but these have been destroyed by their civil wars, and those revolutions in which Fez and its environs have been the scene of action ;

action ; while few of them were afterward rebuilt. By order of the Prince Muley Ali, eldest son of the emperor, I was most agreeably lodged at one of these gardens. This Prince gave me an entertainment in another garden, through the middle of which the river passed, its banks ornamented by a row of trees, and under a pavilion, erected with taste. Such situations are every where charming, and especially so in hot climates, where water, though more necessary, is more uncommon. The situation of Fez, however, cannot be healthy ; the humidity of its vapours renders the air heavy in summer, and fevers there are rather common.

Ever ready to change their master, the inhabitants of Fez, at each revolution, yield to the first approaching conqueror : this they pretend is a privilege they enjoy from the founder of their city. It is, however very inefficacious, and only serves to prove either the cowardice of its inhabitants or the difficulty of defence. Fez, in reality, is so situated as to be unable to make

make any resistance without exposing itself to total destruction.

On the height of Old Fez, in a plain capable of great cultivation, Jacob-Ben-Abdallah, of the race of Beni-Merins, built, in the thirteenth century, New Fez, contiguous to the Old, and, by its situation, keeping the latter in awe. The high town, which is well and healthily situated, contains some old palaces, in which the sons of the Emperor live. The Sovereign himself resides here when he pleases; but he prefers a separate palace, built by his father, Muley Abdallah, half a league from the city. The new town is inhabited by some Moorish families, but by still more Jews, who trade with old Fez, notwithstanding the contempt with which they are treated by the inhabitants: this contempt they endeavour to find a recompence for in their gains.

Turning to the left, on the road from Fez to Mequinez, we find a valley, where the river Rasalema, which runs to Fez, takes its rise; it issues from a rock eight
or

or ten feet above the level, in a stream; the contents of which is about three cubic feet, and cannot be more; so that, however heavy the rains may be, the river, during its short course, is incapable of swell. Hence the city is never endangered by floods, although from the form of the valley it is a kind of continued water-fall. It washes the ramparts of new Fez, and turns a wheel twenty-four feet in diameter, by which the inhabitants, the Princes' palaces, and the appertaining gardens, are supplied with water. This wheel is turned by the current like that of a water mill, and has spaces, at intervals, which serve as buckets that are filled by the stream, and emptied, during their course, into a basin on the top of the wall. The method is simple and cheap; but I think it can only succeed on rivers not liable to swells, and where the descent of the current is equal to the volume of water intended to be raised.

The distance from Fez to the sea is about a hundred and twenty miles, and from Fez to Mequinez some thirty six; the road excellent, along a pleasant plain, intersected

by rivulets, over which are bridges, and various canals cut to water the lands. This plain is surrounded by inhabited highlands, on which abundant crops might be produced, and the most charming landscapes formed. It is afflicting to behold climates of rich and fertile lands, the which lie waste, while men are obliged to conquer the obstacles of nature to gain subsistence among the mountains of Europe. The waters being abundant in this part of the empire, and the climate temperate, the vegetables produced are excellent. Rice is here cultivated, which has neither the whiteness nor taste of that coming from the Levant; and here they rear all kinds of fruit, and even cherries, which do not ripen in the other parts of the empire.

The communication between Fez and Mequinez is more easy than in many polished nations. Ready-saddled mules may be found at all hours of the day, which are returned after the journey to a place appointed. The pacing of the mules is not fatiguing, and in summer people go from Mequinez to Fez, and return in a day,
good

good mules being able to travel these six-and-thirty miles in six hours.

On the western side of the plain of Fez, in sight of Mequinez, stands the mountain Zaaron, on which is a village consecrated to Mahometan devotion. It contains the sanctuary of Sidi Edris, who came from Medina at the end of the eighth century, introduced Mahometanism, and was the first sovereign of his race in this part of Africa. This sanctuary is an asylum for malefactors, and never violated by the Emperor of Morocco.

After Morocco, Mequinez, and Fez, which are the principal inland cities of the empire, the only one remaining to be described is that of Alcaffar-Quiber.

Alcaffar-Quiber is a small city, on the western extremity of the province of Garb, three leagues to the east of Laracha, situated on the river Lucos, and separated from Arzilla by a continuance of vallies and plains, in one of which Don Sebastian, King of Portugal, lost victory and life in

1578. Alcaffar is furrounded by gardens, in which are grown many very indifferent fruits. The river Lucos often overflows its banks in winter, and does great damage to the city and its neighbourhood; in the houses of which it is not uncommon for the water, at such times, to be two feet high.

This city, built in the twelfth century, owes its foundation to a singular event. The Emperor, Jacob Almonfor, who extended his domains in Africa, and even over the Mahometan provinces of Spain, was encamped in the plains of this city to enjoy the pleasures of the chace. Having lost himself one night, he was seated under a tree waiting the approach of day, when a fisherman came by, who was returning to his hut. The King pretended he was one of his own attendants who had lost his way, and wished to be conducted to the camp. The fisherman pleaded bad weather, the danger of a country abounding in marshes, and begged this pretended stray attendant would, without scruple, come and partake what his cottage

tage could afford. They set out on the morrow, and, having met the guards, who were in search of the Emperor, Almonfor made himself known, and asked his host what recompence he wished to receive. I wish, said the fisherman, to have a house instead of a hut, in which, should occasion offer, I might welcome a lost sportsman. The Emperor erected a palace on the spot where he resided when he came to hunt; the charge and stewardship of which he gave to the fisherman. The grandees and courtiers eagerly built houses around it, and a little city soon arose. It contains at present near a thousand families, and has preserved its name of Alcaſſar-Quiber; that is to say, grand palace, to distinguish it from Alcaſſar-Seguer, or little palace, which this Prince also built on the sea shore of the straits of Gibraltar.

Alcaſſar-Quiber was besieged by the Portuguese in 1503; but, the Moors coming to its relief, they were forced to renounce the attempt.

Exclusive of these four inland cities,

there are some other towns toward the south, which lie out of the way, and the situations of which remain undetermined.

On the far side of the kingdom of Fez, in the province of Shaus, or Chaus, near the river Mulluvia, is a walled town, called Dubudu, on a height, surrounded by fertile vallies. This town, supposed to have been built by the ancient Africans, was a considerable place in the sixteenth century, when the race of Merini reigned at Fez. At present it contains few inhabitants, though it has a garrison and a confidential Alcayde to guard the frontier.

Between Fez and the province of Rif stands the castle of Tesa, pleasantly situated, and surrounded by charming vales. This was formerly a populous town, but now, like the preceding, contains few inhabitants, with a governor, and some soldiers.

In most of the provinces are walled castles without artillery, in which the Bashaws and

and Governors live, and many more, wholly uninhabited, and falling to ruin. That of Mediona, in the province of Tensena, two days journey from Sallee, is inhabited by some Moors and Jewish families, where they fabricate *Haiks* and coarse carpets. Another has been built at some distance to curb the mountaineers of Shavoya, who often ravage the country.

One of the most remarkable, from its situation, the resistance it might be able to make, and the labour bestowed on it, is the castle of Bulahuan, in the province of Duquella, on the banks of the Morbeya. This castle stands in a wild and barren spot, on the summit of a commanding eminence more than two hundred feet high, forming a pyramid, the angles of which are rounded, while a large river runs beneath, that, from its depth and rapidity, inspires a kind of horror.

This castle was built at the close of the thirteenth century by Muley Abdulmen, first king of the race of the Moahedins; but Muley Abdallah, son of Muley

Ishmael, made large additions ; and, during the different revolutions that disturbed his reign, he was here often besieged by the revolted Moors of the northern provinces. This Prince had subterranean passages dug at a great expence to procure water from the river ; but as he could not secure his water-carriers from the fire of the musketry, he built conduits, which brought the waters from the neighbouring mountains ; and the ruins of which are still visible on the road from Bulahuan to Morocco.

I lodged in this castle, in 1781, spite of the resistance of some negroes, to whom the keeping of it was entrusted. The apartments are long and high. The prospect from the terraces loses itself on the immense plains of Duquilla, which are only seen with pleasure when covered with green herbage ; for a day's journey may be gone without sight of a single tree. Near the castle is a village, and another before passing the river ; each of which contains about two hundred houses, or thatched huts, being piles of rough-hewn stone without mortar. Both these villages, inhabited

habited by Moors, are exempt from taxes, but are obliged to give the necessary assistance in crossing the river. The lonely situation of this castle, naked and exposed to every wind that blows, and the barrenness of the sandy valley in which it stands, inspire a kind of gloomy horror. But, on the contrary, with equal pleasure and astonishment, well-cultivated gardens are seen below, on the banks of the river, with their orchards and vineyards. Each garden contains a windlass and a bucket necessary to supply it with water.

Among barbarous people like these, who have no idea of the arts, we are taught to distinguish, with more precision, the distance there is between nations, and the power which necessity has in awakening the inventive faculties of man. The passage over the river is another proof to the same effect. The only ferry boat is a raft, composed, for the occasion, of reeds, to which skins full of wind are tied with cords, made from the palm leaf. This is sustained by several Moors, who, swimming, guide and support it by their shoulders,

ders, though the rapidity of the current is such as to drive it down the stream a mile in an instant *. On this crazy raft travellers and their effects are transported. The mules swim across, driven by the muleteers. In September 1781, the waters being low, because of the heats, I forded this rapid river ; a thing which had not happened before for five-and-twenty years.

The Emperor usually passes the Morbeya above Bulahuan, where the stream is less rapid, on a kind of temporary bridge. It is formed of two thick osier cables, fastened to large piles on each bank of the river. These cables are formed into a kind of hurdle by cross stakes passed through them of about five feet long, and over which fods, six inches thick, are laid. This bridge, in consequence of its own weight, rests, and is supported by the current in the middle ; it has indeed

* We read in Livy, that, during the second Punic war, when Hannibal went from Spain to Italy, a part of his army passed the Rhone, the Ticinus, and the Po, on goat skins filled with wind.

but little to bear, the Emperor not passing with a numerous train.

I have still to speak of the kingdom of Tafilet, of which I can give no very accurate idea, Europeans not being suffered to pass through it. Tafilet extends along the east side of Mount Atlas; its habitations consist but of some fifteen hundred scattered houses, several of which have a tower for defence, and each standing amidst an enclosure of gardens, cultivated grounds, and palm-tree plantations; the whole forming a variegated and pleasant country, intersected by many rivers and rivulets descending from the east of Mount Atlas, and which serve to water their lands. Their dates, which are very small, but very excellent, constitute the wealth of, and are food for, the people, who even give them to their horses. By ancient custom, perhaps, for it is contrary to the precepts of the Coran, brandy is made in Tafilet of dates, which is exceedingly strong, and drank so immoderately, by the Sharifs, that wine produces no effect on them whatever.

Tafilet

Tafilet is the abode of a race of the Sharifs, the most of which are poor. They employ themselves in their grounds and gardens, and, being always divided among themselves, the spirit of pillage incessantly arms the strong against the weak. The town of Tafilet, after which the kingdom was named under the Sharifs of the reigning house, is not an ancient city. The name comes from the word *Fileli*, for so the inhabitants of these countries are called, as are the stuffs and carpets which are there manufactured. In the same territory is the town of Sugulmessa, which appears to have been known to the Romans. Leo Africanus says it was anciently called Messa, that is to say, victory ; and that a Roman general, having there followed and vanquished the Numidians, restored the town, and gave it the name of Sigillummessæ, or the seal of victory ; whence comes Sugulmessa.

CHAP. V.

Of the Climate and Soil of the Empire of Morocco.

THE climate of the Empire of Morocco is in general sufficiently temperate, healthy, and not so hot as its situation might lead us to suppose. The chain of mountains which form Atlas, on the eastern side, defends it from the east winds, that would scorch up the earth, were they frequent. The summit of these mountains is always covered with snow, which falls so heavily in winter as often to bury the *Brebes*, who inhabit these vallies. Their abundant descending streams spread verdure through the neighbourhood, make the winter more cold, and temper the heats of summer. The sea on the west side, which extends along the coast from north to south, also refreshes the land with regular breezes, that seldom vary, according to their seasons. At a dis-

distance from the sea, within land, the heat is so great, that the rivulets become dry in summer; but, as in hot countries dews are plentiful, the nights are there always cool.

The rains are tolerably regular in winter, in the climate of Morocco, and are even abundant, though the atmosphere is not loaded with clouds as in northern latitudes. Those rains which fall by intervals are favourable to the earth, and increase its fecundity. In January the country is covered with verdure, and enamelled with flowers. Barley is cut in March, but the wheat harvest is in June. All fruits are early in this climate; in forward years the vintage is over in the beginning of September, and I have eat grapes, tolerably ripe, on the thirtieth of May; but this was an extraordinary case.

Though in general there is more uniformity and less variation in hot than in northern climates, the first are nevertheless exposed to the intemperance of weather: too heavy rains often impede the harvest;
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and drowth has still greater inconveniences, for it ensures the propagation of locusts. These fatal insects, which have so often laid desolate hot countries, sometimes commit the most dreadful ravages in the empire of Morocco. They come from the south, spread themselves over the lands, and increase to infinity, when the rains of spring are not sufficiently heavy to destroy the eggs they deposit on the earth. The large locusts, which are near three inches long, are not the most destructive; as they fly, they yield to the current of wind, which hurries them into the sea, or into sandy deserts, where they perish with hunger or fatigue. The young locusts, that cannot fly, are the most ruinous; they are about fifteen lines in length, and the thickness of a goose-quill; they creep over the country in such multitudes, that they leave not a blade of grass behind; and the noise of their feeding announces their approach at some distance. The devastations of locusts increase the price of provisions, and often occasion famines; but the Moors find a kind of compensation in making food of these insects;

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prodigious quantities are brought to market salted and dried like red herrings. They have an oily and rancid taste, which habit only can render agreeable; they are eat here, however, with pleasure.

The winters in Morocco are not severe, nor is there an absolute need of fire. In the coldest weather the thermometer seldom sinks to more than five degrees above the freezing point; and, during a long residence, I never saw it lower than to two degrees and an half. The inequality of climate felt at Paris is not found here; in the former there is sometimes a variation of twenty-four degrees in twenty-four hours. This degree of variation, at Sallee, on the western coast, is the exact difference between winter and summer. The longest days in Morocco are not more than fourteen hours, and the shortest consequently not less than ten.

The soil of Morocco is exceedingly fertile; the land, light and sandy on the western coast, contains in itself salts sufficient to make it fruitful. To these salts, and to the

the abundant dews, must we attribute a humidity almost corrosive, which, without making any sensible impression on bodies, quickly covers with rust, iron, steel, metals, and even the keys and scissors carried in the pocket; an effect never produced in northern latitudes. The soil is most fruitful in the inland provinces. On the western coast it is in general light and stony, and is better adapted to the vine and olive than the culture of wheat. They annually burn, before the September rains, the stubble, which is left rather long; and this and the dung of cattle, every day turned to pasture, form the sole manure the land receives. The soil requires but little labour, and the plowing is so light that the furrows are scarcely six inches deep; for which reason we perceive, in some provinces, wooden plough-shares are used for cheapness. It is no doubt a law of nature that, in hot climates, where men are little inclined to industry, there industry should be least necessary.

C H A P. VI.

Fruits, Productions, and Mines.

THE Empire of Morocco might supply itself with all necessaries, as well from the abundance and nature of its products as from the few natural or artificial wants of the Moors, occasioned by climate or education. Its wealth consists in the fruitfulness of its soil ; its corn, fruits, flocks, flax, salt, gums, and wax, would not only supply its necessities, but yield a superflux, which might become an object of immense trade and barter with other nations. Such numerous exports might return an inexhaustible treasure, were its government fixed and secure, and did subjects enjoy the fruits of their labour and their property in safety.

The increase of corn in Morocco is often as sixty to one, and thirty is held to be but an indifferent harvest. The exportation
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of this corn is burdened by the laws, and by the prejudices of an intolerant religion, which permit them not to sell their superabundance to infidels. The property of land is beside entirely precarious, so that each individual grows little more than sufficient for his own wants. Hence it happens, when the harvest fails, from the ravages of locusts, or the intemperance of seasons, these people are exposed to misery, such as Europeans have no conception of; who enjoy a stable administration, which obviates and provides for all their wants. They also have interested conveniences and motives, and that confidence which is founded on the faith of civilized nations. They have the obligation of reciprocally aiding each other's wants on urgent occasions, and rendering the most prompt and active succour; all which cannot exist under governments so strangely arbitrary as that of Morocco, where every thing is subordinate to the caprice of the Sovereign, and the law of the moment.

The Moors, naturally indolent, take little care of the culture of their fruits.

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Oranges,

Oranges, lemons, and thick-skinned fruits, the trees of which require little nurture, grow in the open fields, and there are very large plantations of them found, which they take the trouble to water to increase their product. Their vines, which yield excellent grapes, are planted as far as the thirty-third degree, as in our southern provinces, and are equally vigorous with ours. But at Morocco, where they yield a large and delicious grape, they are supported by vine-poles five and six feet above ground; and, as they are obliged to be watered, the little wine made there is seldom preserved.

Figs are very good in some part of the empire, but toward the south they are scarceley ripe before they are full of worms; the heats and night dews may, perhaps, contribute to this speedy decay. Melons, for the same reason, are rarely eatable; they have but a moment of maturity, which passes so rapidly that it is with difficulty seized. Water melons are every where reared, and in some provinces are excellent. Apricots, apples, and pears, are

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in tolerable plenty in the neighbourhood of Fez and Mequinez, where water is less scarce, and the climate more temperate. But in the plain, which extends along the western coast, these delicate fruits are very indifferent, have less juice or taste, and the peaches there do not ripen.

The tree called Raquette in France, or the prickly pear, or the Barbary fig, is plentifully found in the Empire of Morocco, and is planted round vineyards and gardens, because that its thick and thorny leaves, which are wonderfully prolific, form impenetrable hedges. From these leaves a fruit is produced, covered with a thorny skin, that must be taken off with care. This fruit is mild, and full of very hard, small, kernels. The Spaniards call it Toona, which leads us to suppose they received this plant from Tunis; and, as it may well have passed from Andalusia among the western Moors, the latter call it the Christian fig, while in Europe it is more justly called the Barbary fig.

The olive is every where found along
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the coast, but particularly to the south. The trees are planted in rows, which form alleys the more agreeable because the trees are large, round, and high in proportion. They take care to water them, the better to preserve the fruit. Oil of olives might here be plentifully extracted, were taxation fixed and moderate; but, such has been the variation it has undergone, that, the culture of olives is so neglected as scarcely to produce oil sufficient for internal consumption. In 1768 and 1769 there were near forty thousand quintals of oil exported from Mogodor and Santa-Cruz to Marseilles, and ten years after it cost fifteen pence per pound. Thus do the vices of government expose nations to dearth and famine, who live in the very bosom of abundance.

From the province of Duquilla, to the south of the empire, there are forests of the Arga tree, which is thorny, irregular in its form, and produces a species of almond exceedingly hard, with a skin as corrosive as that of wall-nuts. Its fruit consists of two almonds, rough and bitter, from which an oil is produced very excellent for frying.

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In order to use this oil, it must be purified by fire, and set in a flame, which must be suffered to die away of itself; the most greasy and corrosive particles are consumed, and its acrid qualities are thus wholly destroyed. When the Moors gather these fruits, they bring their goats under the trees, and, as the fruit falls, the animals carefully nibble off the skins, and then greedily feed.

In the same province also is found the tree which produces gum Sandarac; also that which yields the transparent gum; but the latter is most productive, and affords the best gum, the farther we proceed southward, where the heat and night dews may, perhaps, render the vegetable secretion more pure and copious.

In the province of Suz, between the twenty-fifth and thirtieth degrees, the inhabitants have an almond harvest, which varies little, because of the mildness of the climate; but the fruit is small, for which reason they take little care of the trees, and they degenerate with time.

The palm tree is common in the southern provinces of Morocco ; but dates ripen there with difficulty, and few are good, except in the province of Suz, and toward Tafilet, where they are still better, because of its distance from the sea.

On the coast of Sallee and Mamora there are forests of Oak, which produce acorns near two inches long. They taste like chesnuts, and are eat raw and roasted. This fruit is called Bellote, and is sent to Cadiz, where the Spanish ladies hold it in great estimation.

The empire of Morocco also produces much wax ; but, since it has been subjected by the Emperor to the payment of additional duties, the country people have very much neglected the care of their hives.

Salt abounds in the empire, and in some places on the coast requires only the trouble of gathering. Independent of the salt-pits, formed by the evaporation of the soft water, there are pits and lakes in the country whence great quantities are obtained. It is
carried

carried even as far as Tombut, whence it passes to the interior parts of Africa,

The Moors cultivate their lands only in proportion to their wants; hence two thirds of the empire, at least, lie waste. Here the Doum, that is, the fan, or wild palm tree, grows in abundance, and from which these people, when necessity renders them industrious, find great advantage. The shepherds, mule drivers, camel drivers, and travellers, gather the leaves, of which they make mats, fringes, baskets, hats, *shooaris*, or large wallets to carry corn, twine, ropes, girths, and covers for their pack-saddles. This plant, with which also they heat their ovens, produces a mild and resinous fruit, that ripens in September and October. It is in form like the raisin, contains a kernel, and is astringent, and very proper to temper and counteract the effects of the watery and laxative fruits, of which these people in summer make an immoderate use. That Power, which is ever provident for all, has spread this wild plant over their deserts to supply
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an infinity of wants, that would otherwise heavily burden a people so poor.

Unacquainted with the sources of wealth of which their ancestors were possessed, the Moors pretend there are gold and silver mines in the empire, which the Emperors will not permit to be worked, lest their subjects should thus find means to shake off their yoke. It is not improbable but that the mountains of Atlas may contain unexplored riches ; but there is no good proof that they have ever yielded gold and silver. There are known iron mines in the south, but the working of them has been found so expensive that the natives would rather use imported iron, notwithstanding the heavy duty it pays, by which its price is doubled. There are copper mines in the neighbourhood of Santa Cruz, which are not only sufficient for the small consumption of the empire, where copper is little used, but are also an object of exportation, and would become much more so, were the duties less immoderate. Taxation every where imposes shackles, destructive

structive to the industry of man, and the prosperity of nations.

After having seen that the true riches of the Empire of Morocco consist in the abundance of necessary products, and the ignorance the inhabitants have of artificial wants, it will be a subject worthy curiosity to enquire whence came the gold and silver which the Moors accumulated in former ages ; and what was the source of those treasures, the remainder of which the Sharifs, after the fifteenth century, dissipated, and which insensibly dwindled to annihilation,

Time has thrown this enquiry into such obscurity as to disable us from finding positive proofs ; yet suffer me to hazard a few conjectures, that seem founded in probability.

CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

*Concerning the Commerce of the Moors in
former Times.*

WHAT connection there anciently was between the Moors who border on Africa, and the more interior nations, we can only conjecture. It seems probable that the Carthaginians, who were the most industrious and enlightened people that have governed in Africa, as ardent in acquiring riches as in extending their power, were the first who, after having formed settlements on their borders to increase communication, must have established caravans to exchange their products for the gold, and productions, of interior Africa. This communication seems to be proved by the elephants, which were that way obtained, and with much greater ease than at present, and which formidable animals constituted in those ages the strength of armies. It may be their wildernesses were less desert,
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and that they were watered by more streams, the course of which have, perhaps, been turned by time, or other causes. If this be so, the tribes, that approach their borders, may now have been driven to a much greater distance from each other by these deserts, their burning sands, and the want of subsistence, which would no longer permit their being traversed with their former facility.

Independent of such natural effects, the consequence of those revolutions to which time daily subjects the earth, the changes that the minds and manners of men are likewise liable to must necessarily have influenced their intercourse with each other, and the commerce of nations. The progress which navigation made, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, must have affected the commerce of Africa, and have insensibly attracted it from the centre toward the sea coast, on the west, which approaches the equator, and where the French, Portuguese, Dutch, and English, each emulative of the other, have successively formed establishments.

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The great rivers of Africa, which empty themselves in these seas, united its utmost boundaries, and the ports of Europe then received* gold dust, ivory, ambergrease, Guinea pepper, and other productions, of inland Africa; the exclusive enjoyment of which had, till then, been confined to the bordering nations, and were to them become objects of luxury. The first success of this discovery excited the ambition of Europe, which did not then foresee those divisions and ills that would thence result. The negroes, however, at the sight of our ships, had a foreboding of their destiny; they durst not enter, fearing the white men, whom, till then, they had utterly unknown; they imagined they beheld their masters, and not their friends; but the insinuating affability of the Normans, and

* We read, in La Martiniere, that the first expeditions were undertaken to the coast of Guinea in 1364 by the adventurers of Dieppe, who, at that time, had the utmost success till the year 1410, when the civil wars of France brought this rising commerce into neglect. The Portuguese, then masters of the Cape de Verd Islands, formed settlements on the Gold coast.

the trifling presents they bestowed, gained their confidence.

Wretched nations, how might you suspect, how might you dread these demonstrations of friendship, and the toys with which your ignorance was dazzled, were the pledges of approaching slavery ! Scarcely was the new world discovered before it was depopulated by the false and ferocious politics of its conquerors. Negroes were transported thither in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the enumeration of all those who, from that time to this, have there been held in slavery, is indeed fearful. It seems possible that we must one day carry back the remains of these nations to repeople the deserts of Africa, when the avarice of Europeans shall have made them wholly desolate. I must intreat pardon for these reflections ; they have led me somewhat from my subject.

After the destruction of Carthage and Rome, the Moors, having had no commercial intercourse with Europe till to-

ward the fourteenth century, must have confined their trade to the more central nations of Africa, with whom they respectively interchanged their products. There they probably vended their merchandise of woollen stuffs, sheep skins *, cloth, corn, salt, and dried fruits.

In exchange for these, which were produced by labour only, and the consumption of which was, perhaps, very great, they obtained gold dust, ivory, Guinea pepper, and slaves. Such, it appears to me, must have been the first source of the wealth of the Empire of Morocco. The Moors on the confines of Africa might still possess nearly the same resources, had they the same facility of communication. Those of Morocco, whose situation is most central, have, perhaps, profited the least by them during the three last centuries, either by the fre-

* Sheep skins, unsheared, serve as mattresses, and to sit on among these people; and we may observe that, in the interior parts of Africa, the sheep have hair instead of wool, while the men have wool instead of hair on their heads.

quency of revolutions which their empire has undergone, or because their despotic government has so entirely shackled trade and industry. The small degree of barter which the people still maintain with Tombut, and the countries nearer to the Niger, give a colour of truth to my conjectures concerning the commerce of these nations in ancient times, and of which the modern Moors have no remembrance.

The inhabitants of Tunis and Tripoli, who have a different kind of government, gain more advantage by their intercourse with the people bordering on the Niger. They also occasionally make voyages into Egypt, to Asia, and Constantinople, whether they carry negroes, male and female; while the Moors of Morocco scarcely obtain slaves sufficient for their own service.

From these, or similar suppositions, we may obtain some ideas concerning the original source of the great wealth formerly

found among the Moors. We shall see, in a future chapter, what is the present commercial intercourse between the empire of Morocco and the nations of Europe.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Inhabitants of Morocco.

THE inhabitants of the Empire of Morocco, known by the name of Moors, are a mixture of Arabian and African nations, formed into tribes; with the origin of whom we are but imperfectly acquainted. These tribes, each strangers to the other, and ever divided by traditional hatred or prejudice, seldom mingle *. It seems probable that most of the *casts*, who occupy the provinces of Morocco, have been repulsed from the eastern to the western Africa, during those different revolutions by which this part of the world has been agitated; that they have followed the standard of their chiefs, whose names they

* Some have imagined they perceived among these people, notwithstanding the intervention of ages, those family aversions which were remarkable among the people of Canaan, to whom the Moors appear to have owed their origin.

have preserved; and that by these they, as well as the countries they inhabit, are distinguished. At present these tribes are called *Cafilés*, or *Cabiles*, from the Arabic word *Kobeila*; and they are so numerous that it is impossible to have a knowledge of them all. In the northern provinces are enumerated *Beni-Garir*, *Beni-Guernid*, *Beni-Manfor*, *Beni-Oriegan*, *Beni-Chelid*, *Beni-Juseph*, *Beni-Zaruol*, *Beni-Razin*, *Beni-Gebara*, *Beni-Buseibet*, *Beni-Gualid*, *Beni-Yeder*, *Beni-Gueiaghel*, *Beni-Guaseval*, *Beni-Guamud*, &c.; toward the east are, *Beni-Sayd*, *Beni-Teufin*, *Beni-Iessetin*, *Beni-Bubabel*, *Beni-Telid*, *Beni-Soffian*, *Beni-Becil*, *Beni-Zequer*, &c.; and still farther to the south, those of *Beni-Fonsecara*, *Beni-Aros*, *Beni-Hassen*, *Beni-Mager*, *Beni-Basil*, *Beni-Seba*, with an infinite number of others*. The people who depend on Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, are in like manner di-

* We must observe, that the word *Ben*, that is to say, Son, is usually employed to signify family descendants; thus, *Beni-Hassen* and *Beni-Juseph* consequently signify the children, or descendants, of Hassen and of Joseph. The Moors, as a more extensive generic term, call men *Ben-Adem*; that is, the descendants or sons of Adam.

vided into an infinite number of these tribes, who all are so ancient that they themselves have not the least idea of their origin.

We should divide the different tribes that people this empire into two principal classes, that is to say, the Brebes and the Moors. I shall not dwell upon the signification of the name Brebes, which the mountaineers have acquired and preserved; conjectures only can be formed on the subject, the incertitude concerning the origin of these people, and the epocha of their first settlements, being considered.

The Brebes, as well as the Moors, no doubt, adopted the Mahometan religion, analogous as it was to their manners and chief customs, on the first invasion of the Arabs; but they are ignorant, and little faithful to its precepts, except to that which inspires them with a hatred for other religions. Mahometanism has not effaced the ancient habits and prejudices of these people, for they eat swine's flesh, and, in those places where there are vineyards, drink wine; and

good reason why, say they, we make it ourselves. In the southern parts of Mount Atlas they put it into earthen jars the better to preserve it, and into barrels made from the trunks of hollow trees, the but-ends of which they spread over with pitch, keep it in caverns, and even in water. In the province of Rif, toward the north, they give it a slight boiling, which deprives it of its fumes, and makes it less intoxicating; they, perhaps, also think, that this renders it congenial to the spirit of the Koran.

Buried in their mountains, the Brebes maintain their resentment against the Moors, whom, confounding them with the Arabs, they regard as usurpers. In these asylums they contract a ferocity of character, and strength of body, which render them more proper for war and labour than the Moors of the plain in general are; the independence they profess imparts more of character to their countenance; but it is necessary to have lived long among these nations to perceive the difference. Sub-
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ligious prejudices, they shake off his authority whenever they think proper, and, intrenched as they are in their mountains, to attack and vanquish them are difficult.

The Brebes have a language of their own, and never marry but among each other. They have tribes or Cafiles among them who are exceedingly powerful, both by their number and courage. Such are those of *Gomera* on the borders of Rif, of *Gayroan* toward Fez, of *Timoor* extending along mount Atlas from Mequinez to Tedla, of *Shavoya* from Tedla to Duquella, and of *Misbboya* from Morocco to the south. The Emperor of Morocco keeps the children of the chiefs of these tribes at court as hostages for their fidelity.

The Brebes have no distinction of dress; they are always clothed in woolen like the Moors, and, though they inhabit the mountains, seldom wear caps. These mountaineers, as well as their wives, have exceedingly fine teeth, and shew signs of vigour, which distinguish them from the other tribes. It is common for them to

hunt lions and tigers, and the very mothers have a custom of decorating their children with a tiger's claw, or the remnant of a lion's hide on the head, thinking that by this means they acquire strength and courage. The same kind of superstition, no doubt, occasions young wives to give their husbands these sort of amulets. The Brebes and the Shellu having a language common to themselves, and unknown to the Moors, must both have had the same origin, notwithstanding the difference there is in their mode of life. The Shellu live on the frontiers of the empire toward the south; their population is by no means so great as that of the Brebes, nor are they so ferocious; they do not marry with other tribes; and, though they practise many superstitious rites, they are faithful observers of their religion.

After the Brebes, who are considerably populous, I shall speak of the Moors, the greatest number of whom are extended over the country, and the remainder inhabit the cities.

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The former, that is, the Moors of the country, live in tents, and have fresh encampments every year to give rest to the land, and obtain fresh pasturage; but they are not allowed to remove, without having first informed their governor. Like the ancient Arabs, they are entirely addicted to a country life. Their encampments, which they call Douhars, composed of numerous tents, form a crescent, somewhat narrowed toward the end, or else are erected in two parallel lines; and their flocks and herds returning from pasture occupy the centre. They sometimes close the entrance of the Douhars with thorn faggots, but set no other guards than a number of dogs, which bark unceasingly at the approach of a stranger. Each Douhar has its chief, who is subordinate to a still superior officer, appointed to superintend and govern a number of these encampments; and many of these lesser divisions are again reunited under the government of a Bashaw; some of whom have a thousand Douhars under their command.

The tents of the Moors are somewhat of
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a conic form, are seldom more than eight or ten feet high in the centre, and from twenty to five and twenty in length. Like those of the remotest antiquity, their figure is that of a ship overfet, the keel of which is only seen. These tents are made of twine, composed of goat's hair, camel's wool, and the leaves of the wild palm, so that they keep out water; but, being black, they produce a disagreeable effect at a distant view.

The Moors in camp live in the utmost simplicity, and present a faithful picture of the earth's inhabitants in the first ages. Education, the temperance of the climate, and the rigour of the government, diminish the wants of these people, who find in their own provinces, and the milk and wool of their flocks, every thing necessary for their food and cloathing. It is their custom to have several wives, a luxury much less felt among people who have few wants than among those who have many; it is even advantageous to œconomy, the woman having charge of all domestic affairs. Beneath their ill-secured tents they are employed in milking their cows to supply their

their daily wants, and, when the milk is in abundance, they make butter. They sort and sift their wheat and barley, gather vegetables, and daily grind flour with a mill composed of two round stones, eighteen inches in diameter; in the upper one of which a handel is fixed while it turns on an axle, which projects from that beneath. They daily make bread, which they bake well, or ill, as it happens, between two earthen plates, and very often on the ground heated by fire.

Their common food is Cooscoosoo, a paste made of flour in the form of small grains, in the manner of Italian pastes. This Cooscoosoo they dress by the vapour of broth in a round dish, with holes like a colander, and that is fixed in the kettle in which they boil their meat. The Cooscoosoo, contained in this deep plate, or colander, is slowly softened, and prepared by the vapour of the broth, with which they take care to moisten it occasionally.

Simple as this food is, it is very nourishing, and also very agreeable, when those
habi-

habitual prejudices are overcome which each nation has for its own customs, and which cannot be eradicated but by an intercourse with other nations. The common people eat their Cooscofoo with milk or butter indifferently; but those more at their ease, as the governors of provinces, or their lieutenants, who live in the centre of their encampments, have it dressed by a rich broth made with mutton, poultry, and pigeons, or hedge-hogs, and mix it afterward with fresh butter.

These officers receive strangers in their camps with like cordiality to that with which the guests of Jacob and Laban were received. They kill a sheep on their arrival, which they immediately put to the spit, and, if they have not a spit ready, a wooden one is made; when roasted by a very quick fire, and served up in a wooden platter, their mutton looks and eats exceedingly well. I have often been present at similar repasts, the simplicity of which I respected. I imagined myself in a dream, and transported under the tents of the Patriarchs.

The

The employment of the women is also to prepare their wool, spin, and weave in looms hung lengthways in their tents*. These looms are formed by a list of an ell and a half long, to which the threads of the warp are fixed at one end, and at the other on a roller of equal length; the weight of which, being suspended, keeps them stretched. The threads of the warp are so hung as to be readily intersected. Instead of shuttles, the women pass the thread of the woof through the warp with their fingers, and with an iron comb, having a handle, press the woof to give a body to their cloth. Each piece, of about five ells long, and an ell and a half wide, is called a *haick*; it receives neither dressing, milling nor dying, but is immediately fit for use; it is the constant dress of the Moors of the country, is without seam, and incapable of varying according to the caprices of fashion. When dirty, it is

* These looms are used in the country, but the looms of the town weavers are like ours. Each individual buys spun worsted at the market, and has it wove according to his own fancy.

washed;

washed; the Moor is wrapped up in it day and night, and this haick is the living model of the drapery of the ancients.

The country Moors wear only their woollen stuffs, without shirts or drawers, linen among these nations being an article of luxury known only to the court and city. The wardrobe of a country Moor, who is in easy circumstances, consists in a haick for summer, another for winter, a cape, a red cap, and a pair of slippers. The common people, both of country and town, wear a kind of tunic of white grey, or mixed woollen cloth, which descends half way down the leg, with large sleeves and a cape, much resembling the dress of the Carthusian friars.

The country women likewise wear only a haick tied round their waist, the folds of which, covering the neck and shoulders, are fastened by silver clasps. The finery of which the country women are most desirous are large ear-rings, made in the shape of a crescent, or silver rings, with bracelets and rings for the small of the leg.

These

These they wear, amidst all their employments, less from vanity than because they know not the use of drawers, or chests, in which to lay them up. They also wear necklaces of small-coloured glass beads, or clove grains strung on a silken thread.

Beside these embellishments, the country women, to make themselves more beautiful, paint the skin of their face, neck, bosom, and almost of their whole body, with the forms of flowers and ornaments. These impressions are made with models, in which are the points of needles that slightly raise the skin, under which a blue colour is inserted, or gunpowder pulverized, which is never effaced. The custom is exceedingly ancient, and has been common to numerous nations in Tartary, Asia, the southern parts of Europe, and, perhaps, over the whole earth. It is not, however, general to all the Moorish tribes, the women of some of which bear on the forehead, or on the chin, a cross impearled at the four ends, or else the same cross as if pendent from a chain, the figure of which, traced round the neck, descends to the

the bosom. These tribes are probably descendants of those who formerly were subjected to the Christians of Africa, and who, to avoid paying taxes like the Moors, thus imprinted crosses upon their skins that they might pass for Christian. This custom, which originally might serve to distinguish tribes by their religion, or from each other, afterward became a mode of decoration, that was habitually retained, after all remembrance of its origin was effaced*.

The country Moors regard their wives less as companions than as slaves, destined to labour; tilling the ground excepted, they have the care of every thing; and I may add, to the disgrace of humanity, that in certain poor parts women are seen with a mule, an ass, or some other animal, drawing the plough. When the Moors remove their Douhars, or encampments, the men, all seated on the ground in a circle,

* I had the curiosity to make all possible inquiries concerning the casts who follow this custom, and find they came originally from the neighbourhood of Tunis; which circumstance seems to justify my conjectures.

with their elbows on their knees, converse together, while the women take down the tents, pack up the effects, and load their camels, or oxen; the old afterward carry bundles, and the young their children upon their backs in blankets tied round the waist. In the southern parts the women are also obliged to look after the horses, clean, saddle, and bridle them, while the husband, always despotic in these climates, commands, and seems only born to be obeyed.

The country women walk unveiled; their skin is tanned, nor can they make absolute pretensions to beauty. In some places, however, they paint their cheeks, and every where stain their hair, their feet, and their finger-ends, with an herb called henna, which produces a deep saffron colour. This must have been an ancient custom among the nations of Asia. Abu-Beker stained his eyebrows and beard of the same colour, and he has been imitated by many of his successors. A reverence for religion might have introduced the custom, which the women afterwards

made ornamental. It may, however, seem more probable that the custom of painting the beard and hair, of plucking it up by the roots, and shaving the head in warm countries, first originated in cleanliness, for the same reason as combs are used in those countries where the hair is worn.

The marriage ceremonies of the Moors, who live in tents, much resemble those of the cities; a description of which will be seen in its place. The nuptials of the Douhar are in general more gay and splendid, and they carefully invite passing strangers, that they may contribute to the expense of the festival; and in this they are more interested than hospitable.

The tribes dispersed over the country usually confine their marriages each within itself, seldom intermarrying with other tribes. They are always embroiled by their prejudices, which descend from generation to generation, or which, feebly slumbering, awake if a camel happen to be lost, or on the least dispute concerning pasturage, or wells of water. Intermarriages among these

these tribes, far from producing harmony, have often given birth to scenes so tragical as scarcely to be believed among other nations; such as men murdered by their wives, or women slaughtered by their husbands, to revenge national quarrels between their different tribes.

Their children, however numerous, are no incumbrance to the parent, for, as soon as able, they are all put to work; they keep the flocks, carry wood, assist in tilling the ground, and gathering the harvest. In the evening, when they return from their day's labour, all the children of the Douhar assemble in a common tent, where the Iman, who himself can scarcely spell, teaches them to read some lessons in the Koran, transcribed on boards, and instructs them in their religion by the light of a fire made of straw, under-wood, and cow-dung, dried in the sun. The heat is most felt in the inland parts of the country, and there children, of both sexes, often run naked till they are nine or ten years old.

There are no inns or asylums for travellers, except in these Douhars, which are scattered over the country, and always near some rivulet or well. There is a tent for the reception of those travellers who do not carry any with them. Here they find poultry, milk, eggs, and forage for their horses. Instead of wood, they commonly burn sun-dried cow dung, which, mingled with charcoal that must be brought with them, makes a very ardent fire. The abundance of salts found in hot countries give this cow dung a body, which it has not in northern climates*. There is a guard placed round the tents of travellers to prevent accidents, especially when they happen to be Europeans, because that the opinion the Moors have of their riches might tempt their avidity, they being naturally thievish.

Their laws, for the preservation of travellers on the road, are well adapted to the

* That of the month of May is preserved in some places, which, on unprejudiced examination, will be found to be a decoction of herbs and flowers, when most in season; and an extract of this is given to sick people as a kind of tea.

character of the Moors, and their mode of living. The Douhar is responsible for all thefts committed in its neighbourhood, or in sight of its encampment; they are not only obliged to pay the loss, but the Emperor takes occasion to exact from them contributions proportioned to their riches*. To soften the rigour of the law, the Douhars are accountable only for thefts committed by day, and not for those which happen after sun-set, they being not able to see or prevent them. Travellers therefore only begin their journies at sun-rise, and necessarily rest before twilight †.

To facilitate barter, there is a public market held every day throughout the

* History informs us, that among the Egyptians, when any person was found murdered, drowned, or dead, by any accident whatever, the nearest city was obliged to embalm the dead, and furnish a magnificent funeral. This law, characteristic of the religion of the Egyptians, and their care of the dead, might also have a political retrospect to the safety of travellers.

† This appears to be a wholesome law in any country, and is not confined to ignorant or barbarous nations, since it is a well-known law of England. T.

country, Friday excepted, which is the day of prayer, in various quarters of each province. Here the neighbouring Moors assemble to buy and sell cattle, corn, vegetables, dried fruits, carpets, haicks, and all the productions of their country. This market, called Soc in Arabic, resembles the village fairs of France; the motion of the people going and coming to market give a juster idea of the manner in which the Moors live than any to be found in their towns. The Alcaids, who command in the neighbourhood, always repair to the markets with soldiers to keep the peace, it being common enough at such places to see these seeds of rancour, which different tribes preserve against each other, burst forth. The breaking up of the Soc, as it is called in Arabic, when these quarrels happen, gives disquietude to the government, because it always betokens seditious tumults. On the outside of the market there are usually shews, buffoons, singers, dancers, and merry Andrews, who make monkies dance for the amusement of gapers. On one side is the place of the barbers, or surgeons, to whom they bring
their

their sick to be cured of strains, dislocations, or other accidents. I have often, while travelling, been amused by these sights, and have seen men and young women, who have been troubled with swellings, head aches, or other humours, arising from undue circulation, submit to slight, regular scarifications, the men on the head, and the women round it, very near the hair, or sometimes on the shoulders, arms, or legs. Their regularity prevents such scars disfiguring the skin, though they do not soon disappear. This treatment would be incompatible with the customs and education of Europe, where health is often sacrificed to ease and beauty. Without giving a decided preference to this or that custom, it seems rational that rheumatic pains in the shoulders, or other parts, might be more radically cured by such light incisions than by perspiration, or means which may extend the humours, or inclose them instead of cure. This is mere supposition, which will be pardoned me, as I do not pretend to be sufficiently instructed in physic to speak with any certainty.

The Moors of the country have no knowledge of the customs of other nations : at sight of them we imagine we see men as they were before, and immediately after, the flood. Confined to a rural life, they are occupied concerning their grounds and harvests, and pass the remainder of their time in rest. Habituated to fatigue, there are many of them who serve as couriers, and who, notwithstanding their avarice, are tolerably faithful and exact.

It is difficult to conceive the ignorance of these country Moors. I have seen one waiting for his dispatches in a room where there was a glass, and, his eye being caught by his own reflected figure, he imagined it was another courier waiting for dispatches in another apartment. Having asked to what place that courier was going, and being told to Mogodor, O then, said he, we will travel together. He made the proposition to his supposed comrade, who, like him, gesticulated in the glass, but gave no answer : he began to be angry till he saw another person reflected by the same glass enter the room. Astonished at his error,

ror, he could scarcely be persuaded, in spite of seeing and feeling, that it was possible to see one's self, said he, through a stone*.

In a house where I lodged, at Saffi, came two mountaineers, whose curiosity led them to examine Europeans in their own apartments. After having gone over the whole house, they knew not how to descend the stairs they had come up, which, to be sure, were rather steep. At last they sat themselves down on the first step, and then, supporting themselves by their hands and feet, shuffled from one to the other. It is not, however, astonishing that a mountaineer, though accustomed to ascend high and rugged rocks, should find it difficult to go up or down stairs, when we consider that their regularly and exact measurement require a kind of habitude, or that he is as much embarrassed, on such an occasion, as we should be at running, with agility equal to his, up and down mountains.

* The Moors have no words to express mirrors, or glass windows, because they have not the things.

Not

Not one among these people are at first susceptible of receiving ideas from paintings or drawings; they only perceive a confusion of colours in a picture without their order or design, and in engravings a mixture of lines: application only can make them sensible of what they mean. In this they resemble a blind man restored to sight, who should be shewn a picture immediately after the operation of the cataract*.

* The truth of this observation is sufficiently proved by the slowness with which children comprehend the pictures in their books. T.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Manners of the Inhabitants of the Cities.

THE Moors of the cities differ but little from those who live under tents, being of the same origin, except that they have somewhat more urbanity, and that their appearance bespeaks them more wealthy. The citizens, however, are vain of being thought to have no relation to the country Moors; but the revolutions and convulsions, which the empire has undergone, overthrow all such opinions, and will not admit us to suppose any distinction between the Moors of the country and those of the cities. The assertion of some writers, who call the inhabitants of the cities Arabs and those of the country Moors, appears to me totally ill founded: the former may indeed have given credit to this opinion; but it is the more ridiculous because they themselves call the Moors of the country Alarbes, which is
but

but a corruption of the word Arabs. The Brebes and the Shellu, or Chellu, of all the inhabitants of Mauritania, seem to me to be the only ones who have not mingled; but, among the inhabitants of the cities and plains, an Arab can no more be distinguished from a Moor than a Frank could from a Roman, or a Gaul from a Goth, posterior to that influx of different nations who expelled and succeeded each other after the fall of the Roman empire.

The only probable conjecture, which could justify such an assertion, is that of those who believe the Arabs inhabit the cities because that conquerors have the right or the liberty to chuse. Most of the cities of the empire are more ancient than the invasions of the Arabs, who themselves were accustomed to live in tents; and it even seems apparent that the first cities were built by the colonies of the Carthaginians, and that the custom of living in and increasing them did not, till long time after, become general, in proportion as the Moors had a greater intercourse with the Mahometans of Spain, and more
parti-

particularly after the expulsion of the latter. It may be, that, having enjoyed more luxury and wealth, the Mahometans of Spain might prefer to live in the cities, in which are still found various families who vaunt of being descendants of the Mahometans of Andalusia, and who still preserve the family names : such as Bargas, Perez *, Medina, Moreno, Marino, Tolodano, Probe, Marfil, Escalant, Aragon, Lovarez, Valenciano, Meudon, Santiago-Barciano, and others. Some even have preserved their titles of their estates at Grenada, Cordova, Seville, &c. and perhaps also the very key of their house. I do not think that the difference, which is discernible between the Moors of the city and those of the country, can have a much

* Voltaire, in his essay on the Manners of Nations, Chap. CLXII. has supposed that Perez, who was Admiral under Muley Ishmael, was a Spanish renegado : but Perez was a family name among the Moors of Andalusia. It ought to be remarked that the Spanish names, which the Moors and Jews who came from Spain have preserved, are not always family names, but the names of patrons, or of adoption, which indicate the state of dependence in which these Moors or Jews were to the house whose name they bear.

earlier

earlier date; nor will this any way change or affect their origin, but will confirm my suppositions; for whoever reads the revolution of the Mahometans of Spain, will find that these same Mahometans were also a mixture of Arab-Moors, whom it was impossible to distinguish.

The houses of the Moors have in general few conveniences, their wants not having been multiplied by whim. These houses seldom have more than one story, most of them are square, have a court in the centre that is often ornamented with pillars; which court gives light and entrance to four principal chambers that form the four faces of the square. They have no windows, nor is the light ever admitted from the street. Each chamber has a large pair of folding doors, in one of which is a kind of wicket; and these doors also serve to admit light into the apartments. The houses are seldom more than sixteen feet high, are in no danger from the wind, and are tolerably cool in summer.

The furniture of the Moors is sufficient
for

for use; they are unacquainted with tapestry, and their moveables chiefly consist in mats, carpets, some chairs, a chest, a table, and a bed, which runs lengthways the depth of the chamber, and is concealed by a curtain. The houses have all terraces on the roof, which are formed of earth and mortar, about fifteen inches thick.

The inhabitants of the cities, from economy and desire of concord, have only one wife, and very rarely increase the number. They have female negroes, whom they may take as concubines; but their aversion for their colour, which the white people have every where consigned to oppression, keep them chaste, as they do not wish to have mulatto children. It must be owned that the Moors of the cities, commonly enough, have intercourse of gallantry with the wives of the Jews, who, in general, are handsome; and their husbands, enjoying by this means a more immediate protection, are complaisant in proportion to the danger and precariousness of their situation.

The

The Moors have little variety in their dress; the rigour of government is contrary to the caprices of fashion, and depresses every species of luxury. Unable to preserve their riches, except by concealing them, they are very careful not to bear any appearance of wealth which may awaken the avidity of government. "Thou must needs be very rich," said a Sharif to a Moor, who, to preserve his garden walls, had them whitewashed.

We have already seen what is the dress of the Moors who live in tents; the wardrobe of the inhabitants of cities is but little different; they, like the former, have a haick, and a hood more or less fine, and have also a hood of coarse European cloth, of dark blue, for the winter. What farther distinguishes them from the country Moors is that they wear a shirt and linen drawers, and an upper garment of cotton, in summer, and of cloth in winter, which they call a castan. The white or blue hood, the purpose of which seems to be to guard against bad weather, and which is called Bernus, is likewise a ceremonial

part of dress; without which, together with sabre and ganger*, or canjer, worn in a bandelier, persons of condition never appear before the Emperor.

The nature of the government considered, it should seem probable that subjects present themselves before their monarch in a dress like this, which is that of a man prepared to travel, only because they must be always ready to receive and execute their master's orders. Some of the inhabitants of the capital cities, and of those who are more immediately about the person of the Emperor, wear over their dress a cambric shirt, like those which the French ladies have lately among the everlasting changes of fashion adopted, tied round their bodies with a sash; they also put up the hood of their haick.

Obliged as they are to conceal their riches, the Moors wear no jewels; very

* The ganger is a dagger, sometimes straight, and sometimes bent, about a foot in length, and two inches wide.

few have so much as a ring, a watch, or a silver snuff-box. Snuff has not, indeed, been introduced into Morocco till within some fifteen or twenty years. They frequently carry a rosary in their hand, but without annexing any ideas of devotion to the practice, although they use it to recite the name of God a certain number of times in the day. After these momentary prayers they play with their rosary, much the same as the European ladies do with their fans *. The Europeans received the use of the rosary from the people of Asia, or perhaps, from the Arabs. As few of these were sufficiently learned to read the Koran, they supplied this defect by pronouncing the Creator's name a certain number of times in the day. A similar motive, probably, first made it adopted in the prayers of Catholics.

* The Oriental Mahometans have the same custom, except that they seek for a degree of elegance and fashion unknown to the Moors.

CHAP. X.

*Dress and Manners of the Women of the
Cities in Morocco.*

THE Moorish women seldom leave the house, and always veiled. The old very carefully hide their faces, but the young and handsome are somewhat more indulgent ; that is to say, toward foreigners, for they are exceedingly cautious with the Moors. Being veiled, their husbands do not know them in the street, and it is even impolite to endeavour to see the faces of the women who pass, so different are the manners and customs of nations.

There are very fine women found among the Moors, especially up the country ; those of the northern parts by no means possess the same degree of grace and beauty : it would be difficult to give any physical reason for this difference : transmigrations

have continually happened among the different tribes of the empire, of whose descent and origin we are ignorant. These tribes marry only with those of their own tribe, by which they are preserved without intermixture.

As females in warm countries sooner arrive at puberty, they are also sooner old; and this, perhaps, may be the reason why polygamy has been generally adopted in such climates. Women there sooner lose the charms of youth, while men still preserve their passions, and the powers of nature.

The Moorish women are not in general very reserved. Climate has a vast influence on the temperament of the body; and licentiousness is there more general and less restrained, though, as in other places, its disorderly pleasures incur its attendant pains; not but that the disease attending illicit amours is less poisonous, and slower in its operations, among the Moors, than in Europe, because of the heat of the climate,

mate, and the great temperance of their mode of living.

The women of the south are in general the handsomest, and are said to be so reserved, or so guarded, that their very relations do not enter their houses, nor their tents. Yet, such is the contradictory custom of nations, that, there are tribes, in these same provinces, among whom it is held to be an act of hospitality to present a woman to a traveller. It may be, there are women who dedicate themselves to this species of devotion as to an act of benevolence, for it is impossible to describe all the varieties of opinion among men, or the whims to which the human fancy is subject.

The Moorish women who live in cities are, as in other nations, more addicted to shew and finery in dress than those of the country; but, as they generally leave the house only one day in the week, they seldom dress themselves. Not allowed to receive male visitors, they remain in their houses employed in their families, and so totally in dishabille that they often wear

only a shift, and another coarser shift over the first, tied round their waist, with their hair plaited, and sometimes with, though often without, a cap.

When dressed they wear an ample and fine linen shift, the bosom embroidered in gold; a rich castan of cloth, stuff, or velvet, worked in gold; and one or two folds of gauze, streaked with gold and silk, round the head, and tied behind so as that the fringes, intermingled with their tresses, descend as low as the waist; to which some add a ribband of about two inches broad, worked in gold or pearls, that encircles the forehead in form of a diadem. Their castan is bound round their waist by a crimson velvet girdle, embroidered in gold with a buckle of gold or silver, or else a girdle of tamboured stuff, manufactured at Fez.

The women have yellow slippers, and a custom of wearing a kind of stocking of fine cloth somewhat large, which is tied below the knee and at the ankle, over which it falls in folds. This stocking is less

less calculated to shew what we call a handsome leg, than to make it appear thick ; for to be fat is one of the rules of beauty among the Moorish women. To obtain this quality, they take infinite pains, feed when they become nubile on a diet somewhat like forced-meat balls, a certain quantity of which is given them daily ; and, in fine, the same care is taken among the Moors to fatten young women, as is in Europe to fatten fowls. The reason of a custom like this may be found in the nature of the climate, and the quality of the aliments, which make the people naturally meager. Our slender waists and fine-turned ancles would be imperfections in this part of Africa, and, perhaps, over all that quarter of the globe ; so great is the contrast of taste, and so various the prejudices of nations.

The Moors present their wives with jewels of gold, silver, or pearl, but very few wear precious stones ; this is a luxury, of which they have little knowledge. They have rings in silver or gold, also earrings in the form of a crescent, five inches

in circumference, and as thick as the end of the little finger. They first pierce their ears, and introduce a small roll of paper, which they daily increase in thickness, till at length they insert the kernel of the date, which is equal in size to the ear-ring.

They wear bracelets in gold and solid silver, and silver rings at the bottom of their legs, some of which I have seen considerably heavy. There are youths among the Sharifs, or nobility, who wear at one ear a gold or silver ring from four to five inches in circumference; but this custom is more general among the black slaves belonging to people of some distinction.

All these trinkets, which the women are exceedingly desirous to obtain, were originally signs of slavery, which men, to render its yoke more sufferable, have thus insensibly changed to ornaments. Europe received such tokens of dependence from Asia, embellished them with all the riches of nature, and the decorations of art, till at length ear-rings and bracelets, first worn as
badges

badges of servitude, are now become the paraphernalia of the empire of beauty.

The use of white paint is unknown among the Moorish women, and that of red but little. It is much more common to see them dye their eyebrows and eyelashes; which dye does not add to the beauty of the countenance, but considerably to the fire of the eyes. They trace regular figures with henna, of a saffron colour, on their feet, the palm of the hand, and the tip of their fingers.

On their visiting day they wrap themselves in a clean fine haick, which comes over the head, and furrounds the face so as to let them see without being seen. When they travel they wear straw hats to keep off the sun, and in some parts of the empire the women wear hats on their visits, which is a fashion peculiar to the tribes coming from the south, who have preserved their customs, for the Moors do not change modes they have once adopted*.

* The hat is common to men and women among the Moors who travel, and the custom of wearing it came from
Africa

They are in no wise susceptible of that continual change of fashion so studied and so rapid in Europe, and which, particularly in France, is become so vast an object, more burdensome, perhaps, than useful, of industry and intercourse.

Africa to Europe. The Spaniards, because of the heat of their climate, still, as much as they can, wear it flapped, and have called it Sombrero, or shady. The French gave it the name of Chapeau, because it supplied the use of the cape or hood of their ancient dress, which they called chapel.

CHAP.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Renegadoes and Jews.

AMONG the Moors and Jews, who together people the empire of Morocco, there is an intermediate class of men who, somewhat like amphibious animals, seem to appertain to two elements. I speak of renegadoes, who have renounced Christianity to embrace Mahometanism. Among these there are a great number who were originally Jews : the Moors hold them not in the least respect, and the Jews in still less, had they power freely to make their aversion known.

These apostates intermarry only among each other ; and, as in Spain, an old Christian carefully avoids bestowing his daughter on one newly converted, so does a Moor of ancient race imagine his family disgraced,

graced, should a renegado become the husband of his daughter. The families of apostate Jews are exceedingly numerous, and are called *Toornadis* *. Not having at any time married with the Moors, they still preserve their ancient characteristics, and are known almost at sight to be the progeny of those who formerly embraced the Mahometan religion.

The Christian renegadoes are but few, and generally are fugitive peculators of Spain, or men fallen from power, who, because of their misconduct, or in despair, quit one unfortunate situation for another, much more deplorable. Not one among them but repents of having become a Moor, or who does not wish to escape; but this is difficult.

To conclude the account I have given of the inhabitants of Morocco, I must

* From the Spanish word *Tornadizo*, which signifies one who has changed his religion.

COVARRUBIAS. *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana.*

now speak of the Jews, who are very populous in the empire. After being proscribed in Spain and Portugal, multitudes of them passed over to Morocco, and spread themselves through the towns and over the country. Judging by the relations they themselves give, and by the extent of the places assigned them to dwell in, I have no doubt but there were more than thirty thousand families, of whom at present there is scarcely a residue of one twelfth; the remainder either have changed their religion, sunk under their sufferings, or fled from the vexations they endured, and the arbitrary taxes and tolls imposed upon them.

The Jews possess neither lands nor gardens, nor can they enjoy their fruits in tranquillity; they must wear only black, and are obliged, when they pass near mosques, or through streets in which there are sanctuaries, to walk barefoot.

The lowest among the Moors imagines he has a right to illtreat a Jew, nor dares the latter defend himself, because the Koran

ran and the Judge are always in favour of the Mahometan. Notwithstanding this state of oppression, the Jews have many advantages over the Moors; they better understand the spirit of trade, they act as agents and brokers, and profit by their own cunning, and the ignorance of the Moors. In their commercial bargains many of them buy up the commodities of the country to sell again. Some have European correspondents, and others are mechanics; such as goldsmiths, tailors, gunsmiths, millers, and masons. More industrious, artful, and better informed than the Moors, the Jews are employed by the Emperor in receiving the customs, coining the money, and in all affairs and intercourse which the Monarch has with the European merchants, as well as in all his negotiations with the various European governments.

Thus, though but momentarily employed in the administration of affairs, they, by their active intrigues, have the power of doing some good, and much mischief; and, such is their cunning, they generally

nerally take care to gain both by the one and the other. Hence, though the Jews are oppressed, they find resources in their industry, and means of consoling themselves for all their indignities.

The wives of the Jews in Morocco are in general well formed, handsome, have good complexions, and exceedingly fine eyes. They are addicted to dress, and their propensity to gallantry is the greater inasmuch as the husbands of the commonality are somewhat more than indulgent. We must not, however, conclude there are not many Jewish families, whose manners are good and exemplary.

As the Jews throughout the empire live distinct and separate from the Moors, they enjoy their religious rites with considerable liberty. Those of Morocco seem even to have multiplied their superstitions by their intercourse with foreign nations, after the destruction of the Jewish empire. Their Rabbins find a remedy for all evils in prayer, and promote, instead of destroying, error. Enjoying those ecclesiastical immunities

privileges which are granted them by the law, these doctors live exempt from the national impositions paid by the community; and this exemption increasing, the number of the Rabbins increases, and renders more heavy the load of taxation laid on the laborious, who want sufficient capital to trade; while the Rabbins, fattening upon the public misery, employ themselves in affairs of commerce and gain.

The Jews in the empire of Morocco speak Arabic, and all know the Hebrew, because of the affinity between these two languages, the one of which is derived from the other. Every where else Hebrew is the learned language among the Jews, of which the common people are ignorant, and which is studied only by the Rabbins. The Rabbins, in some parts of Morocco, without understanding the Spanish language, have preserved the habit of translating into that language by reading the Hebrew Bible in Spanish, to which they also accustom their scholars. However extraordinary such efforts, it is ridiculous

diculous to fatigue the memory of children with studies which can be of no utility *.

The Jews, who, amid all their persecutions and emigrations, have introduced their religious rites and ceremonies into all countries, observe more scrupulously in Morocco than in any other kingdom those which were anciently performed at the death of their kinsmen. The departure of life is announced by them with shrieks and lamentations, in which hired women join, and who sing in a kind of measure, or rhythmus, at the end of which they clap their hands; thus, in cadence, marking the gradations of their grief. The kinswomen of the deceased tear their hair, beat themselves, and join in this lamentable concert, which is again repeated on the day of interment. The Jews then observe six days of severe mourning, during which they go barefoot,

* This passage is almost unintelligible, and certainly can only mean a Spanish translation of the Bible is read at the same time with the Hebrew, and that they are both compared, perhaps transcribed. T.

and must neither shave themselves, nor change their clothes. On the seventh day their former musical shrieks are repeated, as they likewise are on the first of the eleventh month, which is the last of mourning. The women-weepers, at these funeral ceremonies, sing moral sentences concerning life and death ; and, when they happen to be capable of singing extempore, they rhyme and chaunt the praises of the deceased.

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

Animals found in the Empire of Morocco.

THE domestic animals found in Morocco are of the same species as those that are native in Europe. The ferocious are peculiar to these climes. I shall speak of the former first.

The Moors are a pastoral people, and their wealth consists in their flocks and herds. These are numerous throughout the empire, and would be much more so were property respected, and might commerce be enjoyed in freedom. The quality of the wool on this coast is generally good, and would even be susceptible of much perfection, were they more careful of their breed of sheep, and in their choice of pasturage. The Moors employ a part of their fleeces in their own clothing and

M 2

carpets,

carpets, and sell the residue to foreign nations. There are few black sheep found in the empire of Morocco. It is, perhaps, for this reason that the clothing of the Moors is generally white; and, for the contrary reason, we see in Spain whole districts in the country, the people of which are clothed in grey and dark colours, because that their sheep are more variegated, and that black sheep there are very numerous.

Oxen are tolerably plentiful in this part of Africa, but the breed is small. The English, notwithstanding the shackles which the Emperor in his policy thinks proper to lay on the exportation of oxen, continually obtain sufficient for the maintenance of their garrison at Gibraltar. The Moors salt their beef for their home consumption, and thus preserve it from year to year. Their raw hides form an object of considerable importance in their commerce, and are sent in prodigious quantities to Marseilles.

The

The camel is a part of the wealth of the Moors. It is an animal that requires little, and labours much. The Moors use them as well as oxen in agriculture, but more commonly for the carriage of their products, and other commercial objects, throughout the empire. The camel is a docile animal, which is taught to kneel down that he may be loaded with the greater facility; he is able to carry from six to eight hundred weight, according as he is more or less strong: the country Moors also use him to travel journies; his step is long and heavy, and his trot insupportable to those who are not accustomed to it; and he often carries a whole family, with all its luggage. The Caliph Omar used to travel upon a camel, taking with him his provisions.

Naturalists no longer hold the erroneous opinion that the camel places himself back to back with his female to engender. That animal, tranquil by nature, is restless when in heat; and, after having tormented the female, to oblige her to crouch upon her knees, he himself does the same,

while, with his frothy tongue, he makes a very disagreeable humming. The conformation of the part of generation is such, that, strangely disproportioned, it forms a kind of angle, which seems to project and act by elastic motions.

The Moors of the country eat camel's flesh with a good appetite. The taste of this meat is insipid, and the broth it makes has a white tincture, unpleasing to the eye. Camel's milk is wholesome, cool, and light; it is in common usage in the south; and the sick, whose lungs are any way diseased, drink it medicinally.

This animal is of the utmost utility in hot climates and sandy countries. The sole of his foot is cartilaginous, and becomes callous, but cannot long endure in those countries that are humid and stony. The conformation of his stomach is such that he can remain several days without eating or drinking. Before he begins his journey, his keeper gives him an abundant portion of barley, and, as he chews the cud, he ruminates on this food as he travels,

vels, which lies in his stomach as a deposit, to which he has recourse when wanted. Water is in like manner preserved in a receptacle, which nature has prepared, of various bladders, and which is rejected or re-swallowed in proportion as he becomes thirsty.

Horses abound in the empire of Morocco, and are, in general, good; they are taught to endure fatigue, heat, cold, hunger, and thirst. Beautiful horses are, notwithstanding, uncommon here; the Moors have not taken the same care as the Arabs have done to preserve and improve their breed. The Emperor has studs in various provinces, and some governors also, who are very desirous of pleasing him, have the same; but this kind of industry is not generally encouraged; the exportation of horses is prohibited, and the Emperor claims a right of selecting the best of every thing in kind, which naturally produces negligence in the inhabitants, since their cares could answer no purposes but those of oppression. The horses in this part of Africa are broken

while very young, and treated with much roughness. They teach them to gallop full speed, and instantly to stop short, by which they soon are shook in the shoulders and lamed, and, when seven years old, are in general no longer fit for use.

In the southern parts, where the Moors enjoy some small degree of superior freedom, because they are not inspected with equal attention, they are more careful in improving their breed of horses, which are therefore finer in those countries. The Moors of these provinces seldom ride any but mares; they are swifter, do not neigh*,

* Either the mares of Africa are very different from those of Europe, which latter neigh as frequently as horses, or this is a very strange error, into which several French writers have fallen. A late very intelligent traveller, M. Volney, speaking of the Bedouin Arabs, says, that the Arab mare is preferable to the horse, because, among other good qualities which he enumerates, she does not neigh*. Yet neither M. Volney, nor the author of the present work, M. Chénier, make any distinction between the mares of Europe and Africa; and it is highly probable they have both taken this opinion upon trust. T.

* Vide *Voyage en Syrie et en Egypte*, par M. C. F. Volney, Tom. I. p. 372.

and are better adapted for sudden attacks among people who are always in agitation because of their divisions. The mares and their colts are accustomed to enter the tents at night; they lie down among the children, and, when they turn, are very careful not to hurt them. This familiar kind of education makes these animals contract a vast affection for their masters, by whom they are highly pleased to be caressed.

Mules too are much in use among the Moors, who, under the present reign, have applied themselves industriously to encourage their breed, the exportation of them having been for some time permitted*. These animals are in daily use to perform journies and carry burdens; they are stronger than horses, do not require the same care nor quantity of food, and are more hardy. The Moorish cavalry are all mounted on horses, but private individuals

* Between the years 1765 and 1775 the English continually purchased and transported them to America; but an augmentation of the duties to be paid, and the revolution in America, has interrupted this trade.

ride mules in preference ; they are very careful in chusing good ones, and accustom them to an amble, which does not fatigue, and which rides much ground. Those of Fez are the finest, and go the best : many of them likewise come from the neighbourhood of Tunis.

Poultry is abundant in the empire of Morocco, but it is of a very indifferent kind. The pigeons are excellent, and some of them very large. Partridges are plentiful, but their flesh has very little taste. Woodcocks are exceedingly scarce ; but, in return, snipes are numerous in the season : hares here are generally good, and of the middle size : rabbits are not found, except in the northern part of the empire from Laracha to Tetuan.

The empire of Morocco contains fallow deer, the roebuck, the antelope, with foxes, and numbers of animals, known in Europe ; but these are not in general often seen, because they are hunted, or else that wild beasts destroy the breed imperceptibly. Lions and tigers are not uncommon

in

in some parts of the empire; they haunt the forests or vallies in the neighbourhood of rivers. These animals do not often depart far from their lairs, unless greatly provoked by hunger; but they always find prey in the destruction of young bears, which breed in these forests, or in carrying off the cows and sheep which come to graze in the neighbourhood of their haunts. What are called tigers in this part of Africa are only leopards; the royal tiger is there unknown.

The Moors, and more especially those who inhabit the mountains, willingly go in chace of lions and tigers, lying in watch for them with their guns in the neighbourhood of their watering places. The better to secure themselves, they climb trees to shoot them as they pass, taking care to provide themselves with hatchets to attack the tiger, which runs up trees with facility. I have known a Moor, of no extraordinary strength, who had himself killed one-and-twenty lions.

When

When the Moors wish to take the lions alive, they dig deep ditches, where they put meat, having covered the ditch with leaves, scattered over reeds. The lion, attracted by the bait, falls into the ditch, and is caught in snares, or nooses. It is still more common to take them in wooden traps, which close upon them as the lions are stepping over. When the Moors are obliged to encamp, in places where lions make their appearance, they keep lighted fires to drive them off. It has often happened that these animals, approaching the encampments, have carried off mules from their pasture. On a certain occasion one of the negroes of a Princess, who, to avoid working, had gone to a distance from the camp, and was sleeping at his ease, was devoured by a lion.

The Moors of the country relate many tales in confirmation of what has been so often repeated concerning the generosity of this animal. I have been assured that a Brebe, who went to hunt the lion, having proceeded far into a forest, happened to meet with two lions whelps that came to caress him :

him: the hunter stopped with the little animals, and, waiting for the coming of the fire, or the dam, took out his breakfast, and gave them a part. The lioness arrived unperceived by the huntsman, so that he had not time, or, perhaps, wanted the courage to take to his gun. After having for some time looked at the man that was thus feasting her young, the lioness went away, and soon after returned, bearing with her a sheep, which she came and laid at the huntsman's feet.

The Brebe, thus become one of the family, took this occasion of making a good meal, skinned the sheep, made a fire, and roasted a part, giving the entrails to the young. The lion, in his turn, came also, and, as if respecting the rights of hospitality, shewed no tokens whatever of ferocity. Their guest the next day, having finished his provisions, returned, and came to a resolution never more to kill any of these animals, the noble generosity of which he had so fully proved. He stroked and caressed the whelps at taking leave of them, and the dam and the fire accompanied

panied him till he was safely out of the forest.

This animal, which the ancients have called the King of beasts, does not attack men who do not run from him, but look on him without fear; at least, not unless hard driven by hunger. It may be that the temperature of the climate, or the freedom in which they range, may occasion these animals to be less ferocious in Africa than they are in Europe, where they are shut up in dens. The Moors say that, in some provinces, the very women and children will drive them, by only hallooing after them, away from their habitations.

The Emperor of Morocco keeps lions and tigers in open ditches, which are exceedingly deep and vast, as well for state as to send them, by way of present, to the Sovereigns of Europe. The Jews, whose department it is to daily take them their food, ascend and descend their ditches, without the least apprehension, and govern animals so fierce and voracious with a switch. I kept a young tiger some time at

my house, which had been given me by a governor of one of their provinces. He was put in a great cage, and the servants played with him familiarly, without ever receiving the least injury.

The wild boar, of all the species of ferocious animals found in this empire, is the most common. The sow has several litters in the year, and her young are numerous. They serve as food for the lion. Whenever the lion discovers in the forest the sow and her litter of pigs, he drags himself, with his belly on the ground, and describes a large circle, leaving only a small opening, near which he lies in watch. The sow, wishing to get away with her young, follows the circle which the lion has described, but does not pass it, because of the smell he has left behind, till coming, at length, to the only interval where she does not find the same fetid odour, she rushes precipitately forward, and the lion leaps and seizes on his prey.

There have been examples of boars that have ripped up lions with their tusks; but

but these must be regarded as particular cases and exceptions, and not as a rule that shall in any wise make the lion cede his superiority to the boar.

The inhabitants of the country, and those who live among the mountains, eat the flesh of the boar without scruple, though it is forbidden food by the law, as well as that of the lion. The flesh of the latter, which appeared to me coarse grained and sinewy, must be very tough. Its scent is so strong that a dog, to which I once presented some, the moment he had nosed it, shrunk back with fear.

BOOK II.

Religion — Government — Laws — State of Knowledge — Language — Character — Manners and Customs.

CHAP. I.

Of the Religion of the Empire of Morocco.

THE religion of the Moors is Mahometanism; observed with the greater rigidity, or probably increased in bigotry by superstitious practices, because these people may have preserved ceremonies of their ancient worship, or introduced such as they may have received from other nations.

The Moors follow the tradition or sect of the Iman Abdallah Melek, or Melu, who was one of the four commentators on

the Koran. They hold in equal respect the works of Abu-Abdallah-Mahomet-Ben-Ishmael-El-Boccari, who collected and reduced into a systematic form the oral traditions of Mahomet.

Africa has produced more reformers and enthusiasts than the other countries where the Mahometan religion has been received. Hence it has happened among the Moors, that numerous superstitions have been added, which the ignorance and credulity of the people have confounded with their religion. Although the western Mahometans and the Turks have the same worship, in its general acceptation, their practice of it is, in some respects, different. Exclusive of the mosque, in which the Moors offer up their prayers, they have chapels, or meetings, consecrated to the devotion of individuals, who regularly meet every evening, and sing either passages from the Koran, or prayers which they have composed. They also sing when they bury the dead, and pay the most superstitious devotion to their saints. As the Turks have none of these separate assemblies, which

which seem foreign to the spirit of Mahometanism, it may be presumed that the Moors have adopted the frequenting of them from the Morabethoon's, who, though no Dervises, were more austere in the observation of their worship. It is possible, also, that they may have brought this practice out of Spain.

In all Mahometan states a kind of Monks, or Dervises, are found, who dedicate themselves to religion by vows, and who, under the veil of pretended perfection and absurd peculiarities, multiply and take advantage of the credulity of the uninformed. The Turks of Europe are not in general much addicted to monastic institutions; yet the rich and great among them, out of policy and respect to the opinions of the multitude, admit these hypocrites in their houses; but there are few of them in whom they place any confidence.

In proportion as we enter farther into Asia, or the interior parts of Arabia, and in Egypt, where enthusiasm and the bi-

goted spirit of superstition seem to ferment with the heat, those monkish kind of sanctuaries, in which the pretended saints, called Santons, live, are seen more frequently, and held in greater veneration. Some of these Santons mortify themselves by various means; but most of them are vagrants; the buffoneries of whom are, however, respected by the vulgar, and who there are held in the same veneration as here by the Moors of Morocco.

Sainthood in this part of Africa is one of the most distinguished, and, perhaps, most lucrative professions; it is a family inheritance, descending from father to son, and sometimes from master to servant. A Saint as naturally affirms that he is a Saint as a tailor tells you he is a tailor; and the number of these self-said holy men is increased, because that fools, madmen, and ideots, are acknowledged saints. With respect, however, to their pretended miracles, those the fools never affect to perform. The house, the sanctuary, and the land of a Saint of repute, for they are not all in equal credit, form an inviolable asylum; and

and these asylums, known to the earliest times, which originally were only places of refuge against tyranny and oppression, have insensibly extended their privileges. The Despots of Morocco, ceding to their passions and arbitrary power, have occasionally violated them; but, interested as they are to maintain the prejudices of their people, they have almost always held them in respect*.

These

* The following extract of a narrative, written by some French Missionaries, who, in the year 1723, were sent to Morocco for the redemption of captives, affords a lively picture of the power, as well as avidity of these Saints:—"A criminal took refuge in the house of one of their Saints; the Emperor commanded he should be brought to justice, and punished for his crime: but no one durst enter and seize him, because of the respect they had for the house of the Saint to which he had fled: the Emperor was so angry that he went himself, apparently with an intent to inflict punishment with his own hands. The guardians of the house of the Saint remonstrated that the Imperial dignity was not superior to their law, which forbade the taking of any criminal out of the house of a reputed Saint; but, they farther represented, there was one means of making him quit this house, which was to write a respectful letter to the Saint, and with it send him a present, praying that it might please him to expel the fugitive, and the guardians would then drive him forth, so that he might be seized. The Emperor thought proper to comply; the

These Saints, whose sanctuaries are infinitely numerous, do not all enjoy the same species of holy virtue; the Moors invoke some of them for the cure of their diseases, others to obtain fertility for their lands, or success in their undertakings. Women subject themselves to a nine-day's abstinence to obtain children, and these kind of Saints are the oftenest invoked, and perform the most miracles. Some of them pretend to have charms against wizards, sorcerers, the poison of serpents, and other venomous insects, with which they play. I have seen them eat scorpions.

There is a sect in the south called Ben-Haiffa, descendants of Joshua, who, in their wild fanatic devotion, run, leap, dance, and, extatic in this their intoxica-

" letter was written, in his name, to the Saint, and the pre-
 " sent sent; but, as the Emperors and Bashaws seldom think
 " proper thus to condescend, or to bear this expence, crimes
 " generally remain unpunished." T.

*Relation du voyage pour la redemption des Captifs. Par
 les peres Jean de la Faye, &c.*

tion,

tion, which becomes furious, they fall foaming upon any animal they find. A tale is related concerning a troop of these madmen, who once tore an ass in pieces with their teeth, and eat it up raw. The veneration of the people for such crazy Saints is incredible; they caress them, fondle over, coax them, and use every means to quiet them during these fits of phrenzy.

The most tranquil Saints, however, inspire the greatest devotion: there often come some to the cities, who make their public entry on horseback, preceded by a flag, and followed by foot people, who run after and attend them in multitudes, all hoping to approach the Saint, who lays his hand upon the head of the Moor, and the latter, kissing his garments, imagines himself, after this ceremony, absolved and purified from sin.

It will easily be considered how much the rigours of a government, which al-

ways inspire agitation and terror, contribute to the increase of superstition among the Moors; their intimidated minds habitually yield to every new fear: thus, they are seen performing journies of five or six days from their places of abode, and bearing offerings to invoke some Saint in fashion, that they may merit, by his heavenly intercessions, the favour of their Sovereign, his confidence, or some temporal prosperity. The Moors of the country never fail, after harvest, to perform a visit of pilgrimage to the Saint whom they have most in reverence, carrying him their first fruits in homage, and as a mark of gratitude.

Their priests, their judges, all the learned in the law, every well-informed person, together with their Sharifs, or nobles, are, among the Moors, held to be holy; their veneration extends even to the very Christian priests, and more particularly to those friars who wear the coarse habits, described by the Koran; such as
 were

were worn during the first ages of Mahometanism*.

Madmen, ideots, and dotards, are supposed by these people to be possessed by a divine spirit. Some, cunningly profiting by this fanatic prejudice, have acted the madman, that they might obtain an easy and good maintenance; but there are a number of poor imbecile people, whom the Moors kindly assist, and perform acts of charity in their behalf, highly to their honour.

Sainthood thus being a trade among the Moors, the mystery of the profession consists in the inventing of the means to take advantage of popular credulity. Among

* The Koran having been revised in the seventh century, under the caliphate of Omar, this Caliph recommended the friars, who were then at Jerusalem, and whom he discribed by the coarse garments in which they were clothed, to be held in veneration. These have been supposed to be Franciscan Friars, who have the keeping of the holy sepulchre; but they were Greek Monks, without a doubt, whose habit the first Franciscans imitated, the latter order not having been founded till the twelfth century.

the number of Saints whom I have known, for it is necessary, in some degree, to have friends of every class, there was one who was exceedingly sensible and judicious in private society, but who in public affected every extravagance which the wildness of imagination could prompt; and the fallies in which he indulged himself were regarded as inspirations. He often would pass whole days and nights in imitating the firing of cannon and the explosion of bombs, which the Moors supposed to be presages, sometimes of good, sometimes of ill; and the least alteration in the seasons, in the weather, or the common course of events, was held a full accomplishment of these ridiculous predictions. This artful impostor who, notwithstanding, possessed moral virtues, did some good; and the Moors of the country, who looked upon him as one inspired, laid aside a portion of their profits for him, and very scrupulously brought him their first fruits. Notwithstanding I no way aided him in performing his miracles, he would sometimes invite me to partake of his offerings; and I have often

often rallied him on the cunning and prudence with which he played the fool.

There would be no end to this narrative, were I to recount all the tricks of a number of impostors, whom the Moors venerate, supposing them to be holy. There certainly are some among them, who are well-meaning people, that inspire confidence, and are themselves serious in their professions; but much the greatest part merit exemplary punishment for the abuses they commit on ignorant credulity. There was one at Tetuan who, having in open day met women coming from the bath, after acting some convulsive distortions, seized on one of the most youthful, and had commerce with her in the midst of the street. Her companions, who surrounded her, uttered exclamations of joy, felicitated her on her good fortune, and the husband himself received complimentary visits on this occasion; such is the contrariety, such the caprice of opinion, and such the power of imagination over man.

Not

Not far from Saffi, on the high road, is the sanctuary of a female Saint, who, during her life, had devoted herself to the service of passengers; and this prostitution is the only claim to that veneration in which her memory is preserved. Thus do qualities, most singularly opposite, and which every where influence the mind, sometimes consecrate crimes, making them holy and religious acts, and building temples even to debauchery.

The sanctuaries of the Saints throughout the empire are very numerous; there are some to which vast possessions are annexed, and whose asylum is inviolable by the antiquity of their titles*. Within these lands they scarcely acknowledge the authority of the Emperor; the Saint only to whom the asylum is consecrated, is respected. To the southward, where men's imaginations are most disposed to enthusiasm,

* This respect for Sanctuaries is descended from the most ancient times. Alaric, at the sacking of Rome, enjoined his soldiers to spare the blood of those who should have taken refuge in any sanctuary.

these sanctuaries are still more multiplied, the Saints are held in still greater veneration, and their religion is such that they will not permit Christians or Jews to approach these holy places.

So great was the ascendancy of this kind of devotion that it was customary, in times of civil commotion, to travel under the safeguard of a Saint, and the traveller was then protected from all insult. The same kind of prejudice is the cause that a Saint is generally found travelling with the cafiles, or caravans, where he is considered as a preservative against all unfortunate accidents; and he may travel from one part of the empire to the other without being at any expence.

The habitations of the Saints are always beside the sanctuary, or tomb, of their ancestors, which they take care to adorn. Some of them possess close to their houses, gardens, trees, or cultivated grounds, and particularly some spring or well of water. I was once travelling in the south in the beginning of October, when

when the season happened to be exceedingly hot, and the wells and rivulets of the country were all dried up. We had neither water for ourselves nor for our horses ; and, after having taken much fruitless trouble to obtain some, we went and paid homage to a Saint, who, at first, pretended a variety of scruples before he would suffer infidels to approach ; but on promising to give him ten or twelve shillings, he became exceedingly humane, and supplied us with as much water as we wanted ; still, however, vaunting highly of his charity, and particularly of his disinterestedness.

On the mountain of Askroo, at some distance from Fez, there formerly lived a Saint, whom the Brebes and Jews claim with equal devotion ; the common opinion is, he was a Jew, who was buried in this part of Africa long before the introduction of Mahometanism. The wives of the Brebes and Jews who are desirous of obtaining children, devoutly go, on foot, and climb to the top of this mountain, where is the sanctuary of the Saint. Near to
this

this sanctuary, or tomb, is a laurel tree, that, for several ages, has revived from its own roots, which easily persuades superstitious people that the divine property of this Saint was that of prolific virtue.

The propensity of these people to superstition, enthusiasm, and fanaticism, not only makes them reverence their Saints, but inspires them with a veneration for such Moors as have made the pilgrimage of Mecca, and by that holy act are supposed to have acquired an increase of perfection. They eagerly flock to meet them when they return, and this day is kept as a festival by the family of the *Hadgy*, for so those Mahometans are called who go on pilgrimage to Mecca, because that this consecrated city is situated in the province of Hagias.

When a Moor, on his return from Mecca, re-enters the city in which he dwells, preceded by drums and hautboys, and followed by relations and friends, he bestows a holy embrace on all he meets; and though before he was held an ignorant
vaga-

vagabond, he assumes, on this day, a hypocritical gravity, which imposes upon people eager to see and believe in wonders, and who crowd to be hugged by him and receive an infusion of his virtue. The veneration for these *Hadgy* is so great among the Moors, that it extends to the very animals; a camel that has been on pilgrimage to Mecca is well fed, and maintained without work, and is allowed to graze freely wherever he shall stray.

CHAP.

C H A P. II.

Of the Pilgrimage to Mecca.

THE pilgrimage to Mecca is imposed by the law of Mahomet, but is dispensed with on the most trivial pretext. As the Mahometans, however, attribute to this pilgrimage the remission of all their sins, the most scrupulous and devout are very desirous to undertake it, and ease their consciences. The journey is still more meritorious for the western Mahometans than for the others, because of the difficulties and dangers to which they are exposed in traversing the whole extent of Africa. The caravan assembles at Fez with great preparations, thence takes its departure*,

* The time of this departure is not fixed; it varies as the festivals of the Mahometans happen to vary: it is only necessary to arrive at Cairo about the season in which the festival of the Ramadan is kept; the caravan departs thirty days after, and comes to Mecca before the Corban, or the feast of sacrifices.

and crosses the lesser Atlas to come into the neighbourhood of Tunis, where it lays in a fresh store of provisions ; the same is repeated at Tripoli, and it rests awhile at this last place. It next proceeds across the deserts of Barca over moving sands, which are blown and changed by every wind, and which leave no trace to guide the traveller.

When the winds of the south or the east begin to blow, the caravan is endangered, because these winds, passing over burning plains, bear with them a suffocating heat. Obligated to halt, the camels are formed into a kind of shelter, under which the travellers, extended on the ground, endeavour to guard themselves from this dangerous wind.

Camels are the only animals which can withstand the fatigues of this painful journey, and that because of the facility with which they can support labour, hunger, and thirst. There are always supernumerary camels to supply the places of those that shall die on the road. The dying

ing camels are a kind of alms for those poor Moors, for such there are, who always follow the caravan : the poor, being desirous to expiate their sins as well as the rich, flock to Mecca for absolution ; when a camel can travel no farther, he is delivered over to these hungry followers, who kill him immediately, rip him up, drink with avidity the water, which still remains in the vesicles of the stomach, and then dress and eat his flesh*.

* See page 166 concerning the conformation of the stomach of the camel

C H A P. III.

Of the Festivals of the Moors,

AS festivals are intimately connected with religion, I shall speak a few words of those of the Moors. The Oriental Mahometans by no means keep so many festivals as the Catholic Christians ; but the Mahometans of the west have multiplied them, and observed them with much greater zeal than do the Ottomans. It appears to be a general rule that the people who enjoy least wealth, and freedom, are those who, by way of compensation, are most desirous of keeping festivals. The Turks keep the passover of Bīram, or Bayram, which follows their lent, only three days, and they dedicate the like space of time to that of the Corban, which happens seventy days after.

The

The Mahometans celebrate the latter festival, which signifies oblation, or the feast of sacrifices, by offering up one or several sheep each family, the flesh of which is carefully distributed among the poor.

The Emperor of Morocco holds this festival without the city that more people may assemble, and thus preserves the custom the Moors had of praying in the open fields before they were converted to Mahometanism. He sends a slain sheep to his palace by a horseman, and, if the heart palpitates when it arrives there, this is interpreted to be a good omen. Neither the origin nor the motive of this superstitious custom are at present known.

The two festivals above mentioned are the only ones which the Mahometans of the east observe with great ceremony, and the people do not labour during these three days. The Moors, either because they are more devout, or less industriously inclined, keep each of these festivals eight days; they do the same on the anniversary of Mahomet, which they

call Milood ; and also at the festival of the new year, which they celebrate ten days after its commencement. It is the custom at this latter festival to bestow alms, as it is in some parts of Europe to send new years' gifts. On this occasion the Moors are, many of them, very ready and eager to receive ; but those who are capable of giving, very œconomically, stay at home shut up in their houses.

CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

Of Alms-giving and Hospitality.

MAHOMET made alms-giving a very principal article in his religion ; but it is observed with much less generosity among the Moors than among the Turks. Very few beggars are to be found in Turkey, and alms are so properly distributed to them as to prevent their increase. There, too, hospitality is so regularly observed that the house is open, at meal-time, to all who wish to enter. The same custom is also found among the Moors, who are somewhat at their ease, and persons of distinction ; but it is by no means in the same general use ; because, in reality, neither their wants nor their wealth are the same.

The Mahometan religion seems to enjoy an advantage over every other in teaching

a more perfect resignation to the decrees of Providence. Mussulmen, of all the religious sectaries, are the least affected by the vicissitudes of fortune, or the loss of riches, employments, and honours. This patience, under sufferings, seems effectually to prove a more perfect submission to the will of the Supreme Being, and a more intimate persuasion that every accident and circumstance of life are, without exception, the invariable decrees of destiny.

The conclusions drawn from this doctrine, ought to afford preservatives against every kind of superstition; to which, notwithstanding, the Mahometans, and particularly the Moors, are utterly addicted; it is the interest of their Priests (as it seems to have been thought that of all other Priests) to encourage such silly weaknesses that they themselves may obtain more respect, and give the greater credit to their amulets against sickness, the malice of the evil-eyed, and the influences of spirits and demons. These amulets contain passages of the Koran sown between two bits of morocco in a round, square,

square, or triangular, form, and which the people carry about them, and make their children carry, nay, their very beasts, to prevent every kind of accident and evil augury.

The Moors invoke the Saint, whom they hold most in devotion, with the like confidence, praying him to guard them from any supposed danger. These people may have adopted such superstitions before, or after, they became Mahometans ; but they are, certainly, not only foreign to, but appear to be irreconcilable with, the law of predestination. It would be a vain attempt to endeavour to explain all the various, absurd, and contradictory opinions of men.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Government of the Empire of Morocco.

NO government can be imagined more absolute than that of Morocco : it is subordinate to no one invariable principle which shall restrain the will of the Monarch, or which may serve as a basis of public confidence. Certain of the blind submission of his subjects, or slaves, the Despot here unites in himself every kind of power ; all is dependant on his arbitrary will ; he makes, breaks, changes, and varies, the laws, according to the caprice, the convenience, or the interest, of the moment. Supreme power is here wholly uncontrolled, having, apparently, nothing to fear.

The subject throughout this empire cannot

not say, of any thing, this is mine; not even of his opinion, or his existence: his master deprives him of property, or of life, whenever it shall so please him, he holding them merely as a deposit. The fortune, or fate of men, in a government so despotic, cannot acquire the least stability: to be rich, is to be guilty of a capital crime, which the Despot punishes, how and when he pleases, according as avarice incites.

It may be that there are governments in Asia equally arbitrary and despotic; but to be more so than that of Morocco is impossible. The Grand Signior, who is held to be an absolute Prince, cannot, in every point of view, so be called: he is himself held in restraint by the laws of the State, and assumes a right over the life and property of individuals only in concurrence with these laws: on them are founded the all-sovereign power of Turkey; but this power may also from them receive checks. If the Sultan be allowed to put those to death who are in the administration of affairs, it is because that the ministers of
State

State are his slaves, and he therefore has the power of life and death over them. By punishing them for their exactions, and confiscating their property for the benefit of the national treasury, he consoles the oppressed people, who consider such acts as just, and think the Despot ought sometimes thus to take public vengeance, and restore public tranquillity. This treasury they consider as the property of the People, and not merely of the Prince.

Neither has the Grand Signior the power to seize, for the use of the treasury, the effects of a Visier, when made over in reversion to mosques. His wealth, in consequence of this title of possession, or reversion, becomes sacred and inviolable by a law which religion sanctions; and the Despot, who should dare to violate that law, would no longer enjoy his rights of sovereignty; for the People no longer respect those rights than while they are supposed to be according to law.

At Constantinople the men of the law, in whom are united Jurisprudence and the
Sacer-

sacerdotal office, form an insurmountable
 barrier to the despotism of the Sovereign ;
 and this is, there, the balance of power.
 The legislative body influences the civil
 and political operations, decides on war and
 peace ; and the destiny of the Sultan him-
 self has sometimes depended on its resolu-
 tions and its caprices. At Morocco the
 will of the Monarch knows no such
 bounds : the Despot, according to his good
 pleasure, makes war and peace ; his deter-
 minations are neither subordinate to a
 Council nor a Divan ; they depend only
 on his convenience and his will, and he
 acts without restraint.

Yet the Despot of Morocco does not, by
 any act of authority, seize upon his neigh-
 bour's wife ; he does not commit open
 violation on legal engagements : that
 would be to reverse the whole order of
 things, and subvert his own power. These
 slavish people in him behold the represen-
 tative of Divinity ; and, were he not to
 respect their received opinions and preju-
 dices, all would be overturned, since these
 are the sacred ties of the public confi-
 dence,

dence, and, by tearing off this bandage he must restore the blind to sight.

In this barbarous government, the subject, who is a cypher in the State, wishes to remain unknown, and hide himself from his master's presence. Princes and Kings who ought, when raised over other men to watch for their welfare, and by exerting the noblest qualities of man gain their love and respect, in Morocco inspire only fears and terror.

The Emperor of Morocco entrusts no one with the administration of his estates. Such ministers, indeed, seem incompatible with a government where all is subordinate to the arbitrary will of the Sovereign. This Monarch would suppose his power enfeebled, were he to transmit a portion of his authority to one of his slaves; he inspects all, and employs himself with equal interest, whether it be to re-establish order in a province, or to regulate some domestic dispute; and as his resolutions are always determined according to the convenience

of the moment, they necessarily vary with each varying circumstance.

All persons in the service of the Despot are no more in Morocco than the organs and instruments of his pleasure: their offices are not fixed, or stated; one ends what another has begun; contradictory orders are often issued on the same day, and he who receives them knows not which he had best execute.

The secretaries and agents of the Prince, who are very numerous, have neither any certain employment nor pay; their journeys, and the small expences they are at in his service, are wholly gratuitous; and the Emperor leaves the means of reimbursing and rewarding themselves for their labours to their own address.

The Moorish monarchs have not the same ideas with European sovereigns concerning the adhering to their word; they, perhaps, regard that respect which men and kings owe to the engagements they enter into as giving limits to supreme power:

power: "Takest thou me for an infidel," said an Emperor of Morocco to a foreigner, "that I must be the slave of my word?" "Is it not in my power to say and unsay whenever I shall please?" Such are the strange opinions they hold of their own puissance, by which they suppose they may rid themselves of every thing most sacred*.

What is called the Court in Europe, that is to say, an assemblage of those who most immediately govern the state, is expressed by the word *Magasin*. All people attached to the service of the Sovereign are also called *Magasini* †. By *Magasin* is un-

* John, King of France, was taken prisoner at the battle of Poitiers, in 1356, and, afterward, preferred returning prisoner to England to any violation of his word. "Wete truth," said he, banished from the rest of the world, it still ought to be found in the mouths of kings."

† The word *Magasin* is only a corruption of the Arabic words *Mal-Hafne*, a place where riches are deposited. *Hafne*, standing alone, signifies the treasure of the Prince. It should seem probable that we also have derived our word, *Magasin*, in French, in English, *Magazine*, from the Arabic; it having exactly the same meaning.

derstood a close and respected place, and such in distinction ought a court to be among an erratic nation who live under tents.

The principal officers attached to the service of the Emperor, whom he distinguishes by the name of Sabo, that is to say, friends or companions, are employed as domestics in the palace. So, in the time of Mahomet, Abdallah, his father-in-law, took care of his pillow, his toothpick, and his shoes. Such employments at the court of Morocco are only honorary, giving those who enjoy them an opportunity of approaching the person of the Prince, and the favours he bestows are their only revenue.

In whatever part of his empire the Monarch happens to be, he grants public audiences four times a week for the distribution of justice; and this the Moors call holding the *Meshboor*. While performing these functions, the original institution of which were equally respectable to King and People, he sits on horseback under the

cover of an umbrella, carried by one of his grooms ; and this, in Morocco, is the sole distinctive mark of royalty. He is surrounded by his principal officers, who approach his person, and by a number of soldiers under arms. Here the ascendancy of opinion, and the whole power of despotism, are beheld. The Janizaries, and all soldiers at the court of the Grand Signior, are unarmed ; and, were not this precaution taken, revolutions would be exceedingly frequent at Constantinople. The Janizaries, who have performed any remarkable services, are there acquainted with their power ; but the military slaves of Morocco are acquainted only with the power of their master.

All Moors, without exception, who have any complaint or remonstrance to make, have the liberty to come to the Meshooar, or public audience. Here too the couriers, who have been sent with intelligence to the Emperor, are announced, and the contents of their dispatches made known to him ; he is informed in an instant of what passes in his states, and gives necessary

fary orders accordingly to the Alcáids, Secretaries, or other officers, who are always in his train ready to execute his commands.

The process of justice is exceedingly swift on these occasions; the sentence of the master is without appeal. I was at the public audience held at Mequinez in July 1775, when the Emperor caused a governor of the province of Rif to be killed by clubs, after first having had his hands cut off, and his body was cast into the open fields*. The Monarch, all in agitation, alighted from his horse to kiss the earth, and pay homage to God for this act of justice. Having mounted again, he bade me approach; and I had an audience of considerable length.

As the Emperor of Morocco receives, during these public audiences, the visits of

* This governor was punished as a traitor. He had been suspected of a clandestine intercourse with the governor of Melilla during the siege of that place, and had afterwards manifestly disobeyed the orders of the Emperor.

Ambassadors, consuls, merchants, or other foreigners : affairs are here treated of publicly. Whatever requires secrecy and discretion is either given in writing or told to confidential persons, if such can be found among these people, and in a court where there is no other system than that of the interest and convenience of the moment.

No one is admitted to these public audiences without a present proportionate to his wealth or station, or to the nature of the affairs concerning, and the circumstances under, which he is obliged to treat. Foreigners usually make presents to all those who are attached to the service of the Emperor ; and these persons often invent or give birth to messages, true or false, from the Monarch, that they may multiply the contributions. The Moors are less exposed to these trifling vexations, which, from custom, are become law ; yet they do not present themselves without offering some homage of their submission. The governors of provinces give money, slaves, horses, and camels ; private persons present

sent haicks, carpets, cloths, or other effects; a poor Moor will offer an old horse, or camel, two sheep, a goat, nay, even three hens, or a dozen of eggs.

This respectable custom, by which the Emperor admits all people to his audience, and there renders public justice, is some allay, some melioration, of the rigours of the government, and a consolation to subjects ever exposed to oppression. It restrains the still greater abuses of authority which they else might suffer from the governors of provinces and cities, to whom alone, because of the distance at which they live, the sovereign is obliged to confide a considerable degree of his power, and despotism passes from the master to the slave.

The governors, or bashaws, exclusively, regulate the police of their districts; they are careful to increase the revenue by their authority, or by taking advantage of the altercations which the spirit of inquietude raises among the Moors. When these bashaws have amassed riches, the Emperor is equally careful to strip them; and this

is a kind of retributive justice, which turns to the benefit of his treasury; money, in this government, constitutes the crime, or obtains the pardon of the accused.

C H A P. VI.

Laws and Administration of civil and criminal Justice.

THERE is no code of laws in the empire of Morocco, but instead of a civil they have a religious code; the practice of jurisprudence is reduced to the application of certain principles, to be found in the Koran and its commentators, and in a practical knowledge of the precedents established in the various jurisdictions. There are Cadis and governors in the cities and countries for the administration of justice; and notaries, or *Talbes*, to certify deeds, and all which relates to the security of property, whose pay is moderate.

All litigations concerning property, succession, and the various claims of interest,

are brought before the Cadi of each town, or of each district of the province; the parties sometimes plead themselves, but more often by attorney. These suits are not loaded by forms; their proceedings are very simple, and attended with little expence. The Cadi, assisted by some other men of the law, considers the pleadings and the various circumstances, and gives sentence according to the majority of opinions. Such sentences are always founded on the law, the principles of which are extracted from the Koran, or on customs that, in certain discussions, supply the place of law.

Should the parties not be satisfied with the judgement given, they have the power of appeal to the Emperor; but this very rarely happens, for, in countries so poor, suits are not only very seldom of sufficient consequence to support great expences, but the Moors also prefer the sentence of the Cadi, or an accommodation, be it what it may, to the arbitrary judgement of the Monarch. It is policy among these people to hide as much as they can all knowledge
of

of what their substance is from a master so absolute, who might be liable to reconcile the parties, by seizing himself upon their property.

The governors of cities do not hear any of these litigated causes; authority with them supplies the place of law; their jurisdiction, unclogged by every kind of formality, extends over the police of the cities and the high roads, the regulation of markets, the price of provisions, quarrels, thefts, assaults, and every thing in which the public safety is concerned. The judgements they give are always arbitrary, and generally consist in distributing the bastinado with equal liberality to the guilty and innocent*, committing them to

* Mr. Bosville and three other English gentlemen of fortune, whose honour and veracity are undoubted, but whose names, not being personally acquainted with them, I forbear to mention, were travelling in Morocco, in the year 1767. The mule-drivers, employed by Mr. Bosville and his companions, happened to quarrel with some other of the low people; they were all taken before the Alcaid. The noisy, clamorous, and irascible Moors, unanimously called for vengeance on each other, all speaking together.

to some days imprisonment, whence they are released by money, and in sentencing them to pecuniary mulcts, which bear less proportion to the delinquency than to the wealth of the culprit, or the whim or convenience of the judge. The rich therefore rarely suffer any great punishment, though they should have been concerned in some criminal affair; and in this respect the Moors, in reality, do but resemble most other nations.

The Moors seldom come to blows; when they quarrel, they will insult and abuse

It was a quarrel in bedlam. The ancient Alcaid, sitting cross-legged, with his black beard to his girdle, with great affectation of coolness and gravity, took the shortest and usual method of quieting this uproar: he waved his hand and ordered the Moors all out, without examination, without any distinction, whatever, between guilty and innocent, to receive the bastinado. This ended, they returned very calm, and little desirous of farther hearing or justice.

I have the same Gentleman's testimony, and also that of several respectable merchants, who were personally acquainted with Mr. Chenier for the authenticity of the facts he relates, and the justness with which he depicts the manners of the Moors. They are farther confirmed, also, by the best writers on Morocco; French and English; Travellers and Historians. T.

each

each other, but not strike. It is customary among them to chastise him who gave the first blow, as a kind of retaliation; after which he may, if he can, prove that his cause was good.

Although personal respect is paid in the States of Morocco to those who are well informed, the legislative body has neither the power nor consistence which it has in Turkey; the men of the law have no influence whatever over government, nor is there any intermediate power between the Sovereign and subject, the master and the slave. The Emperors of Morocco may have occasionally consulted people learned in the law, but it was to give an appearance of form and justice, and a greater degree of validity to their decisions. Neither is this formality anywise necessary in Morocco; whereas it is indispensable in Turkey, where the Musti gives his opinion on whatever interests the State.

As those who have studied the law among the Moors are not held in the same degree of respect as among the Turks, the
judges

judges are under more constraint in the exercise of their function ; they literally follow the expressions of the law, and dare not take upon themselves to soften or increase the sentence. Thus those remarkable and sagacious judgments, which are often pronounced in Turkey, are unknown in the courts of Morocco. The Turkish Cadi sagely follows the rules of equity, and departs from the letter of the law, when necessary, to increase or mitigate punishment.

There are numerous anecdotes among the Turks, which prove the good sense, justness and penetration of their judges, in the decisions they pronounce ; as there likewise are of the art with which they make the office they hold profitable, and which is but a kind of annual farm. Such examples among the Moors are more uncommon and less marking ; but in return they possess governors, who are exceedingly adroit, and whose subtilty in watching over all that concerns their administration can scarcely be exceeded.

Several

Several anecdotes are told of a governor of Fez, which merit to be cited, because they contain traits of national character.

A young married woman had a lover, whom she met clandestinely, and who, enraged with jealousy, having some cause to suspect her fidelity, strangled her one night, and threw her into the river. Her body, washed by the current, was carried down to a mill, where her hair got entangled in the mill wheel; the miller perceiving it, went terrified to inform the governor, who commanded him to keep the secret, and bring him the head of the woman in a sack.

The governor placed this head in a chamber, and sent for the women who serve at the baths, that they might discover who she was; he then strongly recommended secrecy to these women, which they are not in this country very exact in observing. He immediately went to visit the husband, and questioned him concerning his wife—"She has been at the house of her father ever since yesterday," said the

the Moor—"Concerning that we must enquire," said the Governor. The Governor and the husband then went to the father, who said it was true his daughter had come to see him the day before, but that she had returned without making a moment's stay.

The Governor then accompanied the husband to his own house, and shewed him the head of his wife, recommending him to dissemble his affliction, and, having reconducted him home, asked to see all his wife's clothes. After examining them piece by piece, he asked the husband whether it was he who had presented her with them all. All were acknowledged by the husband to have been his gifts, except a rich sash, worked in silk and gold, of the manufacture of Fez.

The Governor took this sash, and sent for the workmen to know by whom it had been made, pretending he wanted one of the same pattern; the workmen, having made but three, declared who the different persons were by whom they had been

been bought. Thus proceeding, step by step, he came to the knowledge of the lover who had committed the murder.

The Governor then sent for this lover, and he, confessing his crime, prevailed on the other to keep the secret for a gift of three thousand ducats, or about some eight hundred pounds; that is to say, one thousand for himself, one thousand for the husband, and a thousand for the father. The Governor gave the father a portion, such as the law allowed, but sent nothing to the husband, holding that he was sufficiently recompensed in suffering no punishment for not having better watched the conduct of his wife. This was giving him a lesson, the value of which seems best known among nations where the women are slaves, and where the name of husband is synonymous to that of tyrant.

Another adventure of gallantry had also occasioned the murder of another young woman. A scavenger, being well paid, carried the body very early in the morning, cut in small pieces, upon his ass, among the filth of

of the city. As he passed by the Governor the scavenger saluted him with an air of embarrassment, which raised the suspicions of the Governor, who had seen him pass every day without any such ceremony. The Governor, imagining there was some cause for this behaviour, called the scavenger, interrogated him with threats, and discovered the true motive of his confusion, which he turned to his own account.

This same Governor having cited three young men to appear before him, who were accused of stealing pigeons of a rare species, made them a sign to sit down; then, addressing them, said—"Those who
 " would deny that they had stolen pigeons
 " ought, at least, to take care not to leave
 " the feathers about their heads." One of the three, who was not yet old enough to have learnt dissimulation and presence of mind, immediately lifted up his hand to his bonnet, to shake off the feathers, and thus discovered himself to be the thief; after which he did not deny the fact.

Thus

Thus we find among these rude people, with whom instinct seems to hold the place of reason; men who are as intelligent and as artful as the inhabitants of civilized nations, perhaps more so. The art of knowing man is not indeed to be taught, nor is it the effect of education, but the fruit of experience and reflection; those men, therefore, whose attention is least disturbed, either by dissipation, the love of pleasure, or the desire of acquiring knowledge, have, in this respect, the most advantage:

C H A P. VII.

Of the State of Knowledge among the Moors.

AR TS and Sciences flourish only in freedom, and find not the least encouragement under governments wholly despotic. The Moors, who derive their language and religion from the Arabs, seem not in any manner to have participated of their knowledge. United and confounded as those of Morocco have been with the Moors of Spain, the latter of whom cultivated the arts, and gave birth to Averroes, and many other great men, neighbours, dependants, or pupils, of the city of Fez, the academies of which have been vaunted, and which have produced writers. The Moors of this empire have preserved no traces of the genius of their ancestors; it is not very apparent that those revolutions,

tions, which have overthrown empires, have altered the characterers of nations. Subjugated by the Turks, the Greeks have lost their liberty, but they have preserved their genius; and, were they free, we should see the happy days of ancient Greece revive in historians, philosophers, warriors, and poets. Men, like plants, only degenerate when they are no longer cultivated. I know not whether it should be attributed to the influence of climate, or to those effects which are the result of a vitiated government, but the Moors in general appear to me less susceptible of energy and virtue than other men.

The Moors have no conception of the speculative sciences; in this resembling the ancient Arabs, those among them who can read, and the number is exceedingly small, seldom read any thing but their books of religion. Education consists merely in learning to read and write; and as the revenues of the learned are derived from these talents, the Priests and Talbes among them are the sole depositories

ries of this much knowledge ; the children of the Moors are taught in their schools to read and repeat some sixty lessons, selected from the Koran, which, for the sake of œconomy, are written upon small boards ; these lessons being once learned, the scholar is supposed to have obtained sufficient knowledge to leave school ; on this occasion he rides on horseback through the city, followed by his comrades, who sing his praises : this to him is a day of triumph ; to the scholars an incitement to emulation, a festival for the master, and a day of expence for the parents ; for in all countries, wherever there are festivals and processions, there also are eating and drinking.

At Fez, where some ideas of urbanity are preserved, there is some small degree more of instruction to be obtained in the schools ; and the Moors, who are a little wealthy, send their children thither to have them instructed in the Arabic language, and in the religion and laws of their country. Here some of them also acquire a
little

little taste for poetry ; the Arabs not only celebrated extraordinary events in their poems, but also were accustomed to speak in verse in their assemblies, and in their ceremonial visits. It may be added that the Arabic tongue, by its copiousness, energy, and the metaphors which it is capable of, is, perhaps, better adapted to poetry than any other living language.

The Moors are also in the habit of rhyming and singing the history of any extraordinary event. Some have supposed that this custom has been introduced, among polished nations, from political motives, to amuse the people, and make them laugh, when they might otherwise become too serious ; but it is much more natural to conjecture that, originally, the end of such rhymes was information, and the preserving of historical events in the memory of a multitude of citizens, who had not learnt to read. The Moors, who happen to be somewhat more learned than common, amuse themselves by proposing the solution of enigmas that are tolerably versified ; he who divines the

Q 3 meaning,

meaning, must use the same rhymes as those in which the enigma was composed, as if it were an answer to a question.

CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

Of Pharmacy, Physic, and Innoculation.

THE Arabs, of all the sciences they knew, were most industrious in the study of physic and astronomy, which merited this preference, because of their utility. The art of preserving health, and of regulating agriculture conformable to the order of the seasons, must every where first have claimed the inquiries of the human mind. The Moors, who formerly inhabited Spain, gave great application to the improvement of these sciences, and they have left manuscripts behind them, which still remain so many precious monuments of their genius; nor, it is to be presumed, will these manuscripts always continue buried in oblivion, but will sometime be given to the world.

The modern Moors are infinitely degenerate ; they have not the least inclination to the study of science ; they know the properties of some simples ; but, as they do not proceed upon principle, and are ignorant of the causes and effects of diseases, they generally make a wrong application of their remedies. Their most usual physicians are their Talbes, their Fakirs, and their Saints, in whom they place a superstitious confidence,

Fevers are the most common diseases of these hot countries, and are occasioned by the use of crude meats, bad food, and the daily transition from heat to humidity ; and fevers are placed, by these ignorant people, among supernatural afflictions. A fiend, according to them, occasions their hot and cold fits, and the delirium which follows the body's agitation does but confirm them in their error : thus the sick die, because they do not offer them any other aids than those which depend on miracles, and because they are ignorant of the workings of nature. The history of the world everywhere proves men have supposed the influence

ence of evil spirits ; and this influence is always the greatest in nations the least enlightened. By the force of reflection, only, and their improvements in knowledge, have Europeans at length discarded these superstitious ideas of sorcery, magic, and enchantment, and only in their most distant provinces do such absurdities still preserve some power, over the imagination of men.

The small-pox, which is said to have been brought to Europe either from Asia or Africa, some affirming it was not known before the crusades, is the only disease, perhaps, for the cure of which the Moors do not invoke their Saints ; it comes when it pleases, and does little mischief, because of the temperance of the climate and the abstinence of the people. They are acquainted with inoculation in the interior parts of the country ; but it is practised with less preparatory caution here than among the modern Greeks, from whom it has been learned and adopted by Europeans. The Moors, however, do not inoculate, except those who live on the moun-

mountains, the Brebes, and the Shellu of the south * ; and the custom is less common among the latter. Hence it may be concluded that the small-pox was known in Africa before the invasion of the Arabs, and that the mode of communicating it by infection must have been more ancient in these countries than Mahometanism ; because, however powerful the ascendant of religion may be, it is very slow in rooting out the prejudices and customs of nations †.

In cities, where Mahometanism is observed with the most scruple, they take no precaution whatever to avoid the effects of

* I have before said, the Brebes and the Shellu have the same origin, having preserved the same language ; but the latter, by their communication with the southern provinces, may have varied their customs.

† Some have affirmed, the small-pox was unknown to the Greeks or Romans ; and it is generally believed it was not introduced into Europe till after the invasion of the Arabs. Some physicians have therefore concluded that, not being a disease peculiar to our climates, it might be wholly extirpated by interdicting all communication with infected places, and by purifying every species of clothing which have been used by the diseased.

this

this disease ; precaution would be incompatible with the religion of Mahomet, which leaves the care of acting and preventing to fate. Voltaire wants foundation for asserting, as he has done in his literary miscellanies, that the Turks inoculate their children. The incertitude which the effects of inoculation have occasioned, and the inconveniences which may happen to be the consequences, have given birth in Europe to a diversity of opinions, and doubts have arisen concerning the goodness of a practice so interesting to humanity. Inoculation will, however, certainly obtain greater credit in France, since the Sovereign has dispelled the fears of a nation which stands distinguished for an attachment to its Kings, by having had the royal children inoculated, and thus keeping this contagious poison, which has so often left whole families in mourning and grief, at a distance from the throne.

Although the Moors have little knowledge of pharmacy, and little inclination for the arts, still necessity, in some instances, has rendered them industrious ;
 some

some among them have been bold enough to cut for the stone, a disease known in this country. I saw a stone lately extracted as large as a pigeon's egg, which had various projecting points. I shuddered at the sight of the instruments employed by these surgeons; they consisted in a bad razor, and a kind of hook, rudely made, which resembled a nail bent,

C H A P. IX.

Of Astronomy and Eclipses.

ASTRONOMY, the first knowledge of which we obtained from the Arabs, (or, perhaps, the Egyptians,) and which they themselves learnt in consequence of their wandering lives, is entirely, or almost, unknown to the Moors; for, though they likewise wander from place to place, there are few, if any, among them who have a knowledge of the motion of the heavens, or who are capable from principle to direct their own course, by observing the course of the stars. They are therefore necessarily wholly unable to calculate eclipses, which they always interpret to portend evil.

The eclipse, which happened on the 24th of June, 1778, was central, and total

at

at Sallee. I had been careful in foretelling it would happen, that the terror of the people might thus be decreased ; and, that I might the better observe it, I went into the country, whither I was followed by many people. In proportion as the sun was concealed, my curious, intimidated followers, disappeared one after the other to return to the city, and we remained only with two soldiers of the guard who grew pale, and whose dread was increased as the sun lost its brightness. At the moment that the eclipse was total we heard the lamentable shrieks of women and children, who believed the end of the world was come, and only with returning light did the minds of the people recover some degree of confidence.

It is not extraordinary that a people, who have no theory of the circular motion of the stars, should suffer consternation at a phenomenon which seems to overthrow the order of nature. Superstitious people have every where supposed eclipses were sent to presage some calamity. The
Moors,

Moors, being unable to reason on the causes of such an appearance, imagine the sun or the moon are in the power of a dragon that swallows them, and they offer up prayers that these luminaries may be delivered from an enemy so cruel and voracious.

Notwithstanding the Moors have preserved the wandering manners of the ancient Arabs, they have occupied themselves less in the study of Astronomy. Endarkened by ignorance and superstition, they have been much more eager after astrology, an imaginary science proper only to seduce and deceive the weak. This chimerical doctrine, which made so rapid a progress at Rome in despite of the edicts of the Emperors, must make still greater advances among a people wholly stupid and ignorant, and ever agitated by the dread of present evils, or the hope of a more happy futurity. Magic, the companion of astrology, has here also found its followers, and is particularly studied by the Talbes in the southern parts, who
success-

successfully use it in imposing upon Moorish credulity with strange dreams, and imbiguous forebodings and prophecies.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Language of the Moors.

THE Moors, of the Empire of Morocco, as well as those to the northern limits of Africa, speak Arabic; but this language is corrupted in proportion as we retire farther from Asia, where it first took birth; the intermixture which has happened among the African nations, and the frequent transmigrations of the Moors, during a succession of ages, have occasioned them to lose the purity of the Arabic language; its pronunciation has been vitiated, the use of many words lost, and other foreign words have been introduced without thereby rendering it more copious; the pronunciation of the Africans, however, is softer to the ear and less guttural than that of the Egyptians.

Of all living languages, the Arabic is, beyond contradiction, the one most extensively spoken : from the eastern to the western shores of the ocean, which includes a space of two thousand leagues, from east to west, the people speak no other tongue; and with this a traveller may even make himself understood in the countries of the Mogul, and a part of India. The language, when written, is in effect much the same at Morocco as at Cairo, except that there are letters and expressions among the Moors which differ from those of the Oriental Arabs, who, however, understand the Moors in conversation, notwithstanding their vitiated manner of pronouncing. They mutually read each others writings, with some difficulty.

There is a very sensible difference among the Moors between the Arabic of the learned, and the courtiers, and that spoken by the people in general; and this difference is felt still more in the provinces of the south, or of the east, and among the Moors who live in the deserts, where
the

the Arabic is yet farther disfigured by a mixture of foreign tribes:

The Brebes and the Shellu, who, as I have said, appear to have had the same origin, for they have preserved the same dialect, speak a language which the Moors do not understand, and which seems to have no analogy with that of the latter. I dare not affirm it is the Punic, or the Numidian, but these people write their language in Arabic characters. I have thought it necessary here to collect some words of these languages, by which will be seen the intimate relation between that of the Brebes and the Shellu, and the very slight connexion these two languages have with the Arabic;

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Compa-

Comparative list of words between the Arabic language, as spoken in Morocco, and the languages of the Brebes and Shellu.

	<i>Arabic of Morocco.</i>	<i>Brebes.</i>	<i>Shellu.</i>
God,	Allah, Rabbi,	Allah, Rabbi,	Allah, Rabbi.
World,	Dounia,	Dounit,	Dounit.
Heaven,	Sema,	Aguena,	Aguelna.
Sun,	Shems,	Thafokt,	Thafokt.
Moon,	Kamar,	Aiour,	Aiour.
Stars,	Nejoun,	Yzheran,	Yzheran.
Earth,	Hard,	Ashal,	Aqual.
Sea,	Baar,	Baar,	Baar.
Water,	Ma,	Aman,	Aman.
Fire,	Asia.	Tafir,	Taquat.
To drink,	Shereb,	Iffou,	Iffou.
To eat,	Coul,	Itch,	Itch.
To sleep,	Requot,	Guan,	Guan.
To watch,	Feik,	Ionquir,	Oureignan,
Day,	Naar,	Souhafs,	Haffal.
Night,	Leil,	Iad,	Iad.
Man,	Ragel,	Argaz,	Argaz.
Woman,	Mara,	Tamtot,	Tamgart.
Father,	Bou,	Ibbas,	Babbas.
Mother,	Imma,	Imma,	Imma.
Child,	Ifir,	Herba,	Haial.
King,	Soultan,	Aguellid,	Aguellid.
Prince,	Sharif,	Sharif,	Sharif.
Slave,	Abd,	Ifmak,	Ifmak.
Subject,	Raya,	Rait,	Rait.
Living,	Ait,	Idert,	Iffout.
Dead,	Mout,	Imout,	Imout.

Camel,

	<i>Arabic of Morocco.</i>	<i>Brebes.</i>	<i>Shellu.</i>
Camel,	Gemel,	Grouns,	Haram.
Horse,	Haoud,	Hais,	Hais.
Ox,	Tor,	Ayougou,	Azguer.
Sheep,	Qbech,	Izimer,	Izimer.
Lion,	Sba,	Izem,	Izem.
Tiger,	Nemer,	Agouerzem,	Agouerzem.

N U M B E R S.

One,	Ouaed,	Ian,	Ian.
Two,	Tnein, or Juz,	Sin,	Sin.
Three,	Tleta,	Querad,	Querad.
Four,	Arba,	Arba,	Qouz.
Five,	Kemfa,	Kemfa,	Cemouf.
Six,	Setta,	Setta,	Sedife.
Seven,	Saba,	Saba,	Sa.
Eight,	Temenia,	Temenia,	Tem.
Nine,	Tfaeud,	Tfaeud,	Tza.
Ten,	Afhara,	Afhara,	Meraon.

The Brebes count the days of the week like the Moors, and both of them employ Arabic words. The Shellu enumerate the days after the same method, but in their own language. Both the Brebes and the Shellu denote the months of the year in the same manner as do the Moors and Arabs, and date from the same æra; that is to say, from the year of the Hegira.

The Koran, and books of prayer, of the Brebes and Shellu, are in Arabic, as likewise are their acts and title deeds, which are written by their Talbes, or learned men,

CHAP.

C H A P. XI.

*Of the Character, Manners, and Customs of
the Moors.*

NO one can recollect the intolerable servitude in which the Moors are held without commiserating their state; and yet, on a closer inspection, the compassion which an idea of slavery inspires is considerably abated. True it is that the nature of the government, which, though it cannot totally change the character of nations, has a prodigious influence over their minds, is one of the moral causes of the ferocity, ignorance, and cowardice, of these nations. Despotism so debases the soul that it is neither susceptible of fortitude nor elevation; the slaves only know the will of their master, have not the least idea of freedom, and have even lost the re-

membrance of words which express a sense of their own worth and honour, and which seem only to appertain to the haughty and free mind. With less sensibility than other men, they are faithful neither to their relations, their friends, nor their country; their vices are the opposite of all good faith; they love not one another, and foreigners they love still less.

It appears that the Moors, like all the other nations of hot climates, are more disposed to submit to slavery than the inhabitants of the north. The fewness of their wants, and the fertility of their lands, render them little addicted to labour; therefore have they little vigour, little of that characteristic energy in which noble ideas originate, which gives birth to great crimes, or great virtues. This slumber of the faculties keeps them in eternal stupidity, and is the very prop of despotism; for, it seems to be a well-founded remark that, governments are more or less arbitrary, in proportion as the people are more or less informed.

From the disposition of the soil, or the quality of the food, the Moors are naturally meager ; that licentiousness in which they early indulge, also, greatly contributes to enervate and deprive them of muscular strength, rendering them timid and indolent ; they have agility, but not vigour, and can longer support the fatigues of running than of other bodily labour ; they are tolerably well formed, have regular features, good teeth, fine eyes, but countenances deprived of expression or mind. Perhaps these are rather the effect of physical than of moral causes. Hence too may we trace the reason of that melancholy, that mournful air, which is peculiar to the Moors. Their persons, their whole appearance, bear the stamp of slavery and oppression.

Avaricious by nature, these people are addicted to accumulate and to conceal wealth. Their belief concerning the creation of the world, however disfigured by variation of circumstances, is the same as that of the Christians ; and one of their authors, depicting their avarice, invented an allegory equally judicious and moral.

“ Adam,

“ Adam, said he, after having eaten the
 “ forbidden fruit, ashamed of his naked-
 “ ness, sought to hide himself under the
 “ shade of the trees that form the bowers
 “ of Paradise; the gold and silver trees
 “ refused their shade to the father of the
 “ human race. God asked them why
 “ they did so; because, replied the trees,
 “ Adam has transgressed against your
 “ commandment. Ye have done well,
 “ answered the Creator; and, that your
 “ fidelity may be rewarded, 'tis My decree
 “ that men shall hereafter become your
 “ slaves, and that in search of you they
 “ shall dig into the very bowels of the
 “ earth.”

That passion which universally domi-
 neers over man justifies this ingenious alle-
 gory; but the avarice of the Moors seems
 to justify it still farther; with them gold
 and silver are neither estimated by their
 wants, nor emblematic of their passions,
 but rather objects of adoration,

Confidence and friendship are generally
 unknown among the Moors; they are insen-
 sible

sible to the gentle impressions in which the benevolent and the worthy find such pure delight ; they are acquainted only with the fervor of the passions, scattering discord in families, and insurrection in the state ; incessantly tormented by the impulses of enmity, they seek to injure, and reciprocally to despoil each other of their wealth ; interest is the secret source of their connections, and their hatred ; obliged to hide, that they may preserve their money, their secret often dies with them, fearing lest, otherwise, their end should be hastened by a wife, a son, or a brother, who are themselves impatient to seize upon their riches.

Although the Moors do not enjoy what they possess, they have not the less avidity : in exciting the generosity of foreigners they are most ingenious. In love with money, only, they have no personal predilections ; he who gives is their friend * ; the enmity of people who put
friendship

* A young Moor one day offered one of my servants to receive as many blows with a stick as he pleased, at the rate
of

friendship up to auction, and among whom interest is the sole motive of action, is, in fact, but little to be feared.

This avaricious propensity of the Moors renders them pliant, cunning, and more penetrating than their apparent rudeness of manners would bespeak. Little occupied in improving themselves, they dissemblingly study the characters of others, with whom they have business, while they, with equal adroitness, conceal their own; troubling themselves little concerning delicacy, or probity, they employ all means to obtain their purpose. A person in office, in this respect, is no more to be trusted than a private individual.

I have heard of one of their governors who regularly went to drink tea with a foreigner, and who artfully stole his spoons. Another governor was appealed to in order to recover effects stolen, the

of twenty four for a Blanquil, or something less than two pence. This was his first offer; he would, perhaps, have made a better bargain, had my servant been so disposed.

theft

theft being proved. They were recovered, but the owner's loss was not the less, he being obliged to make a present, at least equal in value, to obtain the intervention of the governor.

It is usual for these Alcaids to divide the perquisites of their servants and soldiers, and those who content themselves with only the half are esteemed honest. What I say must be generally understood; I mean not to affirm there are no individuals whose actions are just or generous; yet let those who deal with them beware, for they will ever discover something of the Moor.

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

Thieves, Punishments, Trades, Games, and Sports.

THE lower orders, and especially the country people, thief from each other with great address. When the nights are remarkably dark, or stormy, they creep along the Douhars, and carry off all they can seize, first undressing themselves to nudity and crawling on all fours, so that in case of surprize they are not easily held.

The Moorish thieves are not intrepid, but what they want in courage they supply in cunning : I will cite two examples.

There is an inclosure walled round in the city of Morocco called Alcaifferia, the gates of which are nightly shut, and where the merchants have their shops and
ware-

warehouses. A thief perceiving there was a dry-well in this enclosure, between which and another well, without the walls, a communication might easily be effected, undertook the labour of making this subterranean communication. Having executed his project, and concealed himself in the Alcaisseria, he broke open the shop of the richest merchant, from which he stole money and other effects to the value of three or four hundred pounds. The burglary was next day perceived and reported to the Emperor, who immediately commanded all persons found in the Alcaisseria, and who could not render a proper account of themselves, to be brought before him; which order was obeyed. Among the persons seized were many suspicious Moors, whom the Monarch threatened all with instant death, if no discovery were made of the culprit or his accomplices.

The thief, who had been seized among the rest, advanced, and, casting himself at the Emperor's feet, said, " I am the
 " guilty person, do with me whatever you
 " please;

“ please ; the crime I have committed is
 “ sufficient ; I would not load myself
 “ with the guilt of the death of so many
 “ mufflemen.”

The Emperor, astonished at the rascal's generosity, praised him for his confession, and commanded him to restore the property to six of his guards, to whose charge he was committed. The thief led them back into the Alcaisseria, told them he had concealed the effects in a well, and that he would descend and bring them up ; accordingly down he went, and, crawling through his subterranean passage, took to flight. The guards, at length, weary of calling and waiting, sent one of their comrades into the well, who soon perceived the trick they had been played. They returned and gave an account of this to the Emperor, who, when he heard it, could not refrain laughter.

Another thief, who had been condemned to be hanged by the arm-pits on the highway, was attended by his wife, weeping and lamenting his sufferings. Still desirous
 of

of exhibiting some new proof of his dexterity, he loudly and piteously called after a muleteer, who was passing with two loaded mules.

Have compassion, generous friend, said he, on my wife and children; assist them to draw out some effects which I have hidden in a pit.

The muleteer refused, saying, the goods were stolen, and that if he were caught he should be punished. Nay, but, replied the malefactor, if thou wilt only assist my wife, thou shalt have the half.

On this the conscientious muleteer consented, and accompanied the wife to the place, who fastened a cord round his body that she might aid him as he descended into the pit. No sooner was he at the bottom than she threw him down the cord, and drove off the loaded mules.

Theft in Morocco is not punished with death; the sentence is variable and arbitrary, depending on circumstances, which

may aggravate or lessen the crime. The hand, or foot, of a highway robber, is usually cut off, as was practised among the Arabs before Mahomet. I have seen a thief, who, after various thefts committed, had, by the Emperor's order, lost both his hands, yet still contrived to steal, alledging that he had now no other means to gain his bread.

Covetousness naturally induces the love of gaming; but, as the Mahometan religion forbids betting of money, the government very carefully watches over this evil among the Moors, and they are only allowed publicly to play at chess, which is in itself a game sufficiently interesting without the aid of wagering. The Moors of the country are unacquainted with cards, but they play at hazard, making dice out of small bones, and using their slippers as boxes.

The first and immediate wants of man are only felt among the Moors, as in other hot climates; the few enjoyments they taste are all secret, and within their own houses, carefully

carefully concealed from public view. Hence their talents find small exertion; industry follows luxury and abundance, and is little seen where liberty is banished and oppression reigns. Heat, perhaps, too, may benumb the body, and with that the faculties of the mind; so necessary for the invention and perfection of the arts: those of the Moors, indeed, are few, and in a rude state; their workman have fewer tools, aids, and conveniences, than those of Europe.

A goldsmith will come and work in the corner of a court, where he presently fixes his stall; his anvil, hammer, bellows, files, and melting ladle, are all brought with him in a bag; his bellows are made of a goat's skin, into which he inserts a reed, holding it with one hand, while with the other he presses the bag, after the manner of bagpipers; and this way lights and blows up his fire.

Other trades work with the like rude simplicity; they have not sufficient employment to incite their emulation, or in-

crease their conveniences : yet does the sight of a nation in this state inspire veneration ; a comparison is necessarily made between the various gradations of art and its progress toward perfection ; while the distance between such its most perfect state and these feeble attempts creates astonishment.

The employments and professions of man are subordinate to his wants ; useful trades are therefore only known among the Moors ; those that appertain to pleasure and luxury are there wholly superfluous. The proceedings of government are too simple to excite conjecture and form politicians, and the condition of men in Morocco is almost uniform.

The governors of provinces and towns, desirous of Court favour, send their sons to attend on the Sovereign, where they find employment, according to their talents, in his service, carrying his messages, and executing his commissions. Here are no fixed posts or offices ; the functions are merely temporary, domestic, and more or less dangerous, according to the character
of

of the reigning Monarch, or the use and abuse of his confidence; in governments so cruel, courtiers usually execute what the turbulent passions of the tyrant command, and honour and probity there are seldom titles of recommendation.

Individuals, who have acquired some wealth, do not willingly send their sons into the service of the Emperor, lest they should endanger their fortune, and expose themselves to those consequences which result from the indiscretion or inexperience of youth; they rather prefer educating them for the offices of Judges, or Talbes, if they have abilities, trusting them with money to trade, or employing them in the superintendence of their gardens and grounds. These are the general and principal occupations of the Moors.

They marry their children early that they may the sooner addict them to employment, and prevent dissipation. One profession with them is equal to another, and they indifferently teach them to trade,

make them tailors, weavers, tanners, or shoemakers, as it may happen: no person is ashamed of exercising a useful trade; the Cadi and the governor of a town each marry their daughter to a tradesman, without supposing they have thereby degraded themselves.

On the Friday, which is their day of prayer, or sabbath, all the inhabitants of a town, clothed in the same kind of stuff and the same colour, are nearly all equal. In absolute governments, where the despot is all, and the slave nothing, there is but little distinction of rank among men; differences there are, but they are momentary, appear and disappear at the will of the master: the Emperor of Morocco of a soldier makes a Bashaw, and of a Bashaw a soldier*. I myself have known a governor deposed by the Monarch, and condemned to sweep the streets of the town he had governed. Such caprices of for-

* The Moors call a governor of a province Bashaw; in Turkey such an one is called Pacha, or Pashaw. Perhaps the latter have changed the B to a P.

tune state not uncommon in arbitrary states, where power passes rapidly from the master to the slave, and as rapidly is annihilated, making too slight an impression for the possessor to become inflated with false ideas of his own positive superiority. Few of the provincial governors but have felt the vicissitudes of this tempestuous despotism; once stripped of their effects, they may again be restored, and recover their former dignity; the sinner is absolved, having, by rendering up his riches, washed away all iniquity.

The Moors have in general but few amusements; the sedentary life they lead in cities is little variegated, except by the care they take of their gardens, which are rather kept for profit than pleasure. Most of these gardens are planted with the orange, the lemon tree, and the cedar, in rows, and in such great quantities that the appearance is rather that of a forest than that of a garden. The Moors sometimes, though rarely, have music in these retreats: a state of slavery but ill agrees with the love of pleasure: the peo-

ple of Fez alone, either from a difference in education, or because their organs and sensibility are more delicate, make music a part of their amusements. There are not in Morocco, as in Turkey, public coffee houses *, where people meet to enquire the news of the day ; but, instead of these, the Moors go to the barbers' shops, which, in all countries, seem to be the rendezvous of newsmongers. These shops are surrounded by benches, on which the customer, the inquisitive, and the idle, seat themselves ; and when there are no more places vacant, they crouch on the ground like monkeys.

Shewmen and dancers come often into the towns, round whom the people assemble and partake of the amusement for a very trifle. There are also a kind of wandering historians ; the vulgar, who cannot read, and who every where are eager to

* Our coffee houses, which are only an imitation of those in Turkey, are, however, more elegant and amusing. The police of Constantinople, watchful of political tranquillity, will not admit coffee houses beyond a certain dimension, too small to contain many people.

hear extraordinary relations, are the more assiduous, in attending these narrators, as want of more extensive information prevents the tale-teller remaining above a week in a place.

A common diversion in the towns where there are foldiers, as well as in the country, is what the Moors call the game of Gunpowder; a kind of military exercise, that is the more pleasing to these people inasmuch as, by the nature of their government, they all are, or are liable to become, foldiers, therefore all have arms and horses. By explosions of powder too they manifest their festivity on their holidays.

Their game of Gunpowder consists in two bodies of horse, each at a distance from the other, galloping in successive parties of four and four, and firing their pieces, charged with powder. Their chief art is in galloping up to the opposite detachment, suddenly stopping, firing their muskets, facing about, charging, and returning to the attack; all which manœuvres are imitated

tated by their opponents. The Moors take great pleasure in this amusement, which is only an imitation of their military evolutions *,

Muley Yezit, one of the sons of the reigning Emperor, who passed his youth among the soldiers, and who has acquired a passionate love of war, is exceedingly expert at these exercises. I have seen him fire three times on a gallop within a hundred and fifty, or two hundred paces. He starts with one musket in his hand, another laid across his saddle, and the third balanced on his head. The first is fired at parting, and given to a soldier, who runs by his side; he then fires the second, and gives it likewise to take the third; after which he pulls up; and this is all executed in a moment.

* The Arabs appear to have introduced in Spain the exercise called *Juego de Cagnas*, which the Spaniards have adapted to their own customs. The Moors, in return, renounced the exercise which the Turks call *Gerid*, the moment muskets supplied the use of lances.

Such is the chief diversion of the Moors in their festivals, marriages, and every kind of rejoicing: the only honour paid to ambassadors, consuls, and all foreigners, is that of this game of gunpowder; a sport always attended with some danger, because of the Moors want of prudence, and sometimes with very unfortunate accidents.

The Moors, either from temperament, or the moral and physical result of their education, are less sensible of pain than the Europeans; almost naked, ever exposed to the effects of the air, their muscles acquire a numbness, which renders them less delicate, and which at length nearly deprives them of feeling. They seem, like the wild plants of their deserts, to disdain the inclemencies of the seasons. Amid their military evolutions I have often seen man and horse overset, and the former rise without hurt or sprain. Their bodies, not being encumbered by their clothing, yield with facility to their motions, in which, perhaps, they have an advantage over the nations of Europe.

The

The Emperor of Morocco often orders the hands of thieves to be cut off; who, immediately set at liberty after punishment, take the dismembered hand up from the ground and run away. Such executions, being neither foreknown nor prepared, are performed with the knife of the first Moor that happens to be present, and who himself clumsily executes the sentence of his master.

A gallant, accused by a husband of being caught with his wife, was condemned by the Emperor to the bastinado, which, for some time, made him think no more of his mistress. The husband, having been absent, was informed on his return that the lover had been as assiduous as ever; again he went with his complaint to the Emperor, who gave the gallant up to him, and commanded him to punish him, so as to render him incapable of ever disturbing his peace more. The husband instantly took his knife, and made the gallant even more wretched than Abelard. I knew the unfortunate man who suffered this punishment; he lost his beard by degrees,

degrees, and insensibly, but became somewhat more fleshy.

After performing such barbarous amputations, the only dressing they give the wound is to smear it over with tar, which, they say, is a remedy for all ills : it may well be supposed that gallantry is not very common among the Moors, and that in this they have not approached European refinement. I may venture to affirm, however, as before said, that these people are less alive to pain than the Europeans ; there is no doubt but that severity of education hardens the body, and strengthens the constitution ; both of which are only weakened by an excess of care and effeminacy.

CHAP.

C H A P. XIII.

*Food, Manner of eating, Marriages of
Moors and Negroes.*

THE Moors are little dainty in their choice of food; which is simple and frugal; they breakfast in the morning before they begin business; but their chief meal is that which they make after sun set. Their most common dish is, as I have already said, the Cooscoosoo; they also have beef, mutton, or fowls stewed, and eat roast meats; but such delicacies are only for extraordinary occasions, and among the wealthy.

The Moors know not the use of table cloths, forks, or spoons: their Cooscoosoo is not liquid; but, though supplied with broth, is left dry; and this they take

up in their hand in a kind of ball, which they chuck with adroitness into their mouths. Their meal ended, they lick their fingers, and wipe them on their clothes, which they wash when dirty. Those who keep negro slaves call them, and rub their hands in their hair; or, if any Jew happens to be present, they make a napkin of his garments.

Such as are tolerably at their ease annually kill, in May, or June, an ox, or fattened bull; the flesh of which they preserve, using it occasionally the whole year; they cut it into slips of about two inches thick, and dry it in the sun for some days; after which they fry it in butter and oil, and pot it; the wealthy fill up the pot with butter, that it may be the better preserved.

The Moors are exceedingly fond of tea, also of sugar; they buy but little, though they are very glad to have it given them; they have learnt the use of this beverage from the northern nations, among whom it is not very ancient. It should seem they are

are fond of tea, because it is heating; for it does not appear to me any way consonant with their frugal mode of feeding, or their dry temperament. Tea naturally is more salutary in colder climates, where the meat is fat, and where the people habituate themselves to the use of butter, cheese, milk, and beer: the Moors love coffee less than tea; however, in general, they love every thing that is given them. One of their proverbs is—"Given vinegar
" is better than bought wine."

It is customary among the Moors to return home at sun set; they burn lamps in their houses, or small yellow wax candles; the use of tallow is unknown to them, and the heat would render it too expensive. According to Bochart, it should seem that we have learnt to burn wax from the people of Africa, and that the French word *Bougie*, signifying wax candles, is derived from the town of Bugia, near Algiers.

The Moors, like all other Mahometans, reckon their time by lunar months, so that their lunar year is eleven days shorter than
the

the solar year. Hence thirty-two years, two months, and some days, of the latter, constitute a revolution of thirty-three lunar years. In their astronomical calculations, however, and that they may regulate the hour of prayer according to the variation of the seasons, the Moors follow the solar year, except that they still adhere to the old stile ; reckoning eleven days later than the Europeans.

They count the days of the week by first, second, third, &c., from Sunday to Saturday : this mode of reckoning they have received from the Hebrews, who should be more ancient than the Arabs, and who, according to the order of the creation of the world, fast on the seventh day ; for the word Sabbath, in Hebrew, denotes the number 7 *, a word which we have preserved with little alteration. The Mahometans feast on the Friday, because the Arabs,

* This is not the received etymology of the word Sabbath, which comes from שבת. He rested. The two words, however, שבת and שבע, have a near affinity. T.

before Mahomet, had consecrated that day to prayer, and had called it the day of the congregation. Mahomet did not think proper to change an established custom.

The Moors marry young: the females arrive at puberty at the age of thirteen. They are permitted four wives, and as many concubines as they are able to maintain. In their cities, as I have already observed, the Moors generally have but one wife; and that for reasons of œconomy and concord. Plurality of wives being here a luxury, each proportions the number according to his state and riches.

In some parts no portion is given with the wife; on the contrary, the husband pays: a custom as ancient as the days of Laban, who made Jacob serve fourteen years before he would give him his daughter. It is, however, most usual to give a portion with the bride; if she be repudiated, the husband restores it twofold: should the husband die, the wife recovers her portion, and the eighth part of his effects.

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The children of the wives all have equal claim to the effects of the father and mother ; those of the concubines only can claim half as much. There are no bastards in these countries, except the children of prostitutes, who are called *Harami* ; that is to say, the children of sin. The same expression is used to signify a malignant person, or one addicted to play jocular tricks. The tone and the circumstances under which it is spoken denote the difference.

Women not being admitted into the society of men, the young people here do not marry for love : they are all matches of family convenience : from the mother only can the young man, or maiden, learn what is the character, and what the accomplishments, of the intended helpmate. The relations having first agreed, they prepare the bridal feast, and marriages are celebrated the most pompously in the poorest countries. A few days before the ceremony the bridegroom is accompanied on horseback through the town, with drums, hautboys, and friends, who occasionally

fire their muskets. On the nuptial day the bridegroom is again taken in procession about sun set; but with a greater train and more ceremony.

On this day he wears a red cap, his sabre in a bandelier, and his face almost covered by a veil to hide him from evil augury. Around him are several young men, one of whom fans him with a handkerchief; he behaves like the Emperor in the midst of his court; and on this occasion even bears the same title. During the procession the musketeers quicken their discharges till he re-enters his own house.

The bride then leaves the house of her father in the same order. She is seated in a kind of square or octagonal cage, about twelve feet in circumference, carried by a mule. This cage rising to a pyramid is adorned by gauzes and stuffs of various colours. The youthful bride is escorted by a number of her relations and neighbours, some with their torches, others their muskets, which they frequently discharge. Arrived at the door of her spouse, the rela-

tions introduce her to her husband, carefully observing that, as she enters, she shall not touch the threshold of the door: the father, mother, and relations, retire; some few bridemaids only remain, holding jocular discourse, and singing licentious verses *.

It is customary for these bridemaids to receive the proofs of the consummation of marriage, which they bear, singing, to the parents of the bride. Virginity is so essential a condition to the validity of marriage among these people, that, should not the proof exist, the husband has a right to send back his wife. It is common enough, however, for them to provide a substitute for these formal proofs, that they may

* Several of the customs of the Moors are peculiar to themselves, and are no way connected with Mahometanism. These it should seem they have adopted from the nations that have reigned over Africa. The Romans, in their marriages, took care that the bride, at entering, should not touch the threshold of the door. When she was delivered over to the bridegroom, they sung also at Rome licentious songs, which they called *Fescinnini*, so named from *Fescinia*, the place where these nuptial songs were invented.

somewhat the sooner rid themselves of the noise of the fingers.

The same custom is observed in Nigritia, where these proofs must be publicly exposed on the morrow of the nuptial day. The prudence of such laws in these hot climates, where morals are more easily corrupted, will, no doubt, be perceived. Virtue suffers less temptation under a more temperate sun, where luxury only, and the prevalence of dissipation, have rendered licentiousness too general,

After the marriage, the Moors feast their relations and friends in the country*; the two families each kill an ox, which they have taken good care to fatten; and these, with a provision of vegetables, abundantly supply the banquet. Marriages are most usually made after harvest; the fertility or dearth of which, especially in

* There is a proverb among the Moors, which says, The Christians spend their estates in lawsuits, the Jews in keeping their festivals, and the Moors in banqueting at their marriages.

the country, occasions marriages to be more or less numerous.

The marriages of the country are held with equal festivity, and even greater, when the bride and bridegroom are not of the same Douhar, because that, in this case, there is a double cavalcade, and a much greater train. Nor are the same scruples observed with respect to the proofs that should satisfy the husband, because it often happens that the marriage is consummated before the ceremony.

Independent of the families of soldiers descended from negroes, and still so called, though they have insensibly lost the colour of black, there are numerous other families of negroes, male and female, in the empire of Morocco, which have been transported from Nigritia through the southern provinces, and destined to domestic slavery. The Moors, if they please, may cohabit with their female negroes ; but the better class of people seldom indulge this licentiousness, being unwilling that their

children should be confounded with the negroes. The words negro and slave are synonymous among the Moors, and indicate dependence and a state of humiliation incompatible with the ideas they have of their own freedom. Is it not astonishing that people, who have not the liberty of thinking, and who are only distinguished from those they call slaves by their colour, should hold the idea of servitude in such abhorrence?

It is customary among the Moors to marry their male and female negroes, and, after a certain period, to restore them to freedom. Thus we see husbandmen are more humane toward their slaves than commercial nations, and that negroes are much more happy, among a people whom we call barbarians, than they are in the colonies of Europe. Without ill-treating them, the Moors employ them in guarding their flocks and herds, tilling their lands, and in domestic services for a limited time. They depopulate one part of Africa to people another,

Europe,

Europe, on the contrary, leaves Africa desolate, and bedews her plantations with the tears and blood of men to obtain sugar and coffee. To supply imaginary wants, procure momentary pleasures, she sacrifices whole generations, forgetful of every tie, every duty of humanity ; and, if asked the reason of such cruelty, replies, These men are black,

Wherefore should prejudices, like these, exist in the mind ; wherefore should different shades of colour give rise to opinions of greater or less degrees of innocence ; yet such opinions, such prejudices, appear to be very ancient and universal. In the east sinister ideas are annexed to the colour of black ; the modern Greeks indifferently use the word Mavros, to signify a black, or an unhappy, man. An East Indian, who has committed a fault, says, with shame, he is black. The Black sea has acquired its name only because of the frequent shipwrecks on its coasts. The Turks attribute ill omens to the colour of black, and view it with repugnance. The Europeans mourn and array the minister,

nisters of religion and justice, who are equally supposed to have renounced pleasure, in black.

The negroes, who are considered as slaves among the Moors, even after they are restored to liberty, live by labour. They have no wealth to tempt the avidity of government; they intermarry with each other, are most singularly chearful and gay, and delight to laugh and talk. Their festivals seem to bear considerable affinity to the seasons, and are passed by diverting themselves in singing and dancing, which they perform with astonishing regularity. They have preserved their own particular customs and sports in Morocco; for, in Nigritia, the youth of the village, most admired, is he who can invent the most gay and grotesque dance.

The negroes throughout this empire conform to the religion of Mahomet, without scarcely knowing what it means; but to this they daily add the adoration of the sun, which is the first object of their worship. The marriages of negroes in Morocco

rocco greatly resemble those of the Moors ; all the processions that relate to them are accompanied by musicians, and preceded by flags made of gauze handkerchiefs, suspended at the ends of reeds.

They marry after harvest, and when they are certain of subsistence. Such, in the first ages of the world, must have been the basis on which all society was formed. The first ceremony before a negro marriage is to carry corn to the mill, sufficient to supply bread for a whole year ; and this they bear singing, accompanied by drums and castanets. They return two days after with the like ceremonies to receive the flour,

Their household furniture consists in a mat, two sheep-skins, unsheared, to sit upon, a lamp, a jar of oil, some earthen pots, and plates ; the whole scarcely worth two guineas, but borne in procession like their corn. The music at these festivals is the heaviest expence. The marriages of the negroes are not attended by so many people, but there is more real mirth ; neither

ther do the women veil themselves like the Moors. Some of them paint their cheeks, which, though it does not add to their beauty, increases the vivacity of their eyes.

CHAP

C H A P. XIV.

Manner of preserving Corn — Hiding of Money — Respect for Storks — Burial of the Dead — Feast of Saint John.

DESIROUS of preserving their corn, the Moors, on the approach of harvest, watch their fields and drive away the birds. From the same motive they do not kill birds of prey, which, by the destruction of other birds, guard and preserve their harvests. European luxury and plenty has occasioned the very opposite mode to be adopted : a price is put on the destruction of birds of prey to preserve partridges that ravage the fields. We dread the want of game, but not of corn.

The harvest over, it is the custom of the Moors to enclose their corn in matamores ;
that

that is to say, in pits, where the corn is long preserved. We learn from Bochart*, that this is a very ancient custom, and must have been general in hot countries inhabited by wandering tribes. To preserve the corn dry, the sides of the pit are lined with straw, in proportion as it is filled, and, when full, covered with the same. On this a stone is laid, over which a mount of earth is raised, in a pyramidal form, to prevent the soaking of the water when the rain descends.

Fathers, among the most wealthy, usually fill a matamore at the birth of a child, and empty it on the day of marriage. I have seen corn so preserved five-and-twenty years; its whiteness was lost, its powers of production, perhaps, injured, and, had it been sown, might have produced only straw.

When convenience, or the imperial command, oblige the Moors to change

their place of abode, should they not be able to take their grain with them, they leave stones heaped over the matamores as marks, which they afterwards with difficulty find. In this case they usually observe the ground at sun rising, and where they perceive a denser vapour they find a matamore : this increase of the sun's exhalation is the consequence of the fermenting of the wheat.

Not only do the Moors deposit their superflux of corn in the ground to preserve it, but also their riches, which suspicion and oppression induce them to bury, having neither furniture nor other means of hiding them from the knowledge of their relations. There is, perhaps, more money buried throughout the empire of Morocco than there is in circulation ; much of this is lost, because, as I have elsewhere said, the possessors, while living, should it be discovered, dread the avidity of their successors.

Among the frequent revolutions on the succession of the several Sharifs, whose family

family at present reigns, various sudden emigrations have taken place; during which the Moors had neither time nor means of carrying off their money, and could only gather stones, or make other uncertain remarks on the places where it was concealed, hoping they might recover it on their return. These hopes must have been often destroyed by distance, or death. Those among them who could write, who were by no means the majority, described with all the precision they were able the place of deposit, to aid their descendants in its recovery.

Such sudden removals in the encampments of these tribes gave rise to a species of impostors, who were supposed to be forcerers, but who, in reality, were knaves, that, having gained information, profited there, as else where, by the ignorance of others. It may be presumed the whole art of these people consisted in knowing how to read, and thus discovering the hiding places from the writings with which they were entrusted. Thus has an art, so universal in other countries, been confounded

founded with magic by the Moors. The Talbes of the tribes who inhabit the south, where the imagination seems most addicted to the miraculous, study this art with assiduity.

An inferior species of superstition among the Moors is the repugnance they have to the killing of Storks; which act, they say, is sinful. It may be, that the regularity with which these birds utter their cries, and the motion they make with their bodies, which, in some sort, resembles that of the Mahometans when at prayer, have annexed ideas of piety to their preservation. It is also natural to suppose the lives of Storks are spared from a much more rational motive, since they destroy noxious insects, locusts, and serpents. In the first state of society, simple and innocent man imagined every thing which was forbidden, every thing injurious to order, decency, or the good of the whole, was sinful. The present Moors blindly obey the commands of their Prince, which they regard as the laws of religion.

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It is supposed that Storks frequent **Barbary**, in greater numbers, because they are not killed there : it is also probable they delight in this country, on account of the many ruins, old buildings, and uninhabited lands, where they can with more facility find food and asylum. The Storks in **Morocco** regularly disappear at the close of summer, and return toward the end of January. That the want of subsistence is the motive of this regular and annual change there can be little doubt. The countries bordering on the **Niger**, inundated in June, July, and August, by the overflowing of that river, which, from similar causes, produces similar effects to those of the **Nile***, must, in winter, swarm with insects, on which these birds feed. They afterward return to the north of **Africa**, where the regular rains of November, December, and the remainder of the winter, fill the marshes, and people them anew with insects.

* The overflowing of these two rivers, according to **La Martiniere**, is occasioned by the abundant rains which fall between the line and the tropic, from the month of June to September.

The Moors, like all other Mahometans, hold it a thing irreverent, and contrary to the spirit of religion, to bury their dead in mosques, and to prophane the temple of the Most High by the putrefaction of dead bodies. In the infancy of the Church the Christians had the like piety, and gave example of the respect in which they held temples, dedicated to religious worship. But ill-guided devotion, mingled with superstitious vanities, and that contagious spirit of self interest which pervades all human affairs, without respecting the altar of God, have, together, insensibly perverted men's ideas. The burial grounds of the Mahometans are most of them without the city; the Emperors have their sepulchres distinct and distant from the mosque, in sanctuaries, built by themselves, or in places which they have indicated; their tombs are exceedingly simple: the Moors do not imitate the ostentation of Europeans, were superb monuments are raised rather to gratify living pride than merit dead.

All Mahometans inter the dead at the
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hour set apart for prayer; the defunct is not kept in the house, except he expires after sun set; but the body is transported to the mosque, whither it is carried by those who are going to prayer; each, from a spirit of devotion, is desirous to carry in his turn.

The Moors sing at their burial service; which usage, perhaps, they have imitated after the Christians of Spain, for the oriental Mahometans do not sing. They have no particular colour appropriated to mourning; their grief for the loss of relations is a sensation of the heart they do not attempt to express by outward symbols. Women regularly go on the Friday to weep over, and pray at, the sepulchres of the dead, whose memory they hold dear.

The Moors have a custom of making bonfires at the feast of Saint John, and are less able even than the Christians to give any reason for this practice. I happened to be at Fez during this festival, which the Moors, according to the old stile, observe much in the same manner as do the Europeans.

peans. I asked a Moor, who was tolerably well informed, why they made bonfires: and he answered me, it was *el Ansarà*, which signifies in Arabic, pronouncing the last *a* short, the companion, or defender, and should denote Saint John, the precursor and companion of Christ. He had no farther reason to give for the fires thus publicly made.

The origin of these fires is of very ancient and remote date. It seems probable that, in old times, they were signals, announcing to the people the sun's elevation, the progress of summer, the maturity of their grain, or the season in which they might bathe without injury to their health. The custom, in some of our southern provinces, of throwing water over the passengers, on this bonfire day, is some support to the latter conjecture. At Sallee, where the harvest is gathered before the feast of Saint John, which among the Moors corresponds with the fifth of July, I have seen young people collect reeds and straw into a heap, set them on float down the river, light them in a blaze as they swam, and sport

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round,

round, which, apparently to me, include the two motives that I imagine gave birth to the practice ; that is, to announce the summer solstice, and the proper season of bathing *. The feast of Saint John, which has been since fixed at the same season by the church, has insensibly effaced these original ideas among the Christians ; and ideas of devotion, neither well founded nor consistent, have been annexed to a political regulation.

* M. Court de Gebelin says, these fires were lighted the moment the year began, and that the first of all years, that is to say, the most ancient of which men have any knowledge, began with the month of June : hence the name of this month, Junior. After a succession of years, the year no longer began with the summer solstice ; the lighting of fires, however, still continued from habit.

Monde primitif. Alleg. Orign. prem. tab.

CHAP.

C H A P. XV.

Military Forces of Morocco,

NO sooner had ambition, religion, and those clashing interests which disturb and desolate the earth, set nation in arms against nation, than each must be supplied with soldiers for its defence: the custom, indeed, which Kings now have of keeping standing armies, is not very ancient.

The numerous levies made by the Kings of Morocco were, at first, either to protect their religion or maintain their sovereignty over Spain; their soldiers were either actuated by the spirit of Mahometanism or the hope of pillage. These sovereigns had no troops properly their own, nor, perhaps, had they revenues sufficient for their maintenance. To this want of a concerted plan between King and People we may ap-

parently attribute those revolutions which formerly distracted the empire, multiplied its sovereigns, and exposed the ever-varying people to such continued changes in their masters.

After the twelfth century the States conquered by Jacob Almonfor were again divided; the people more accustomed to war, chose their own chiefs, and, in the tumult of struggling independence, each province, and almost each city, had its king. The power of such trifling states, ever in sedition, was very unable to resist the efforts of an ambitious conqueror.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century new revolutions took place, nor did the Empire of Morocco acquire its present form and degree of consistency till under the government of Muley Arshid and Muley Ishmael. These Princes chose for their associates, and the participators of their favours, some determined mountaineers, and negroes brought from the South. With these they presently subjugated a multitude of those petty kings, without power,
without

without soldiers, consequently without defence, that then existed throughout Barbary.

After Muley Ishmael had well established his authority, he obliged the provinces to supply him with troops, by whose aid he might make this authority respected. But these pastoral soldiers, who became soldiers only from fear, and whom interest or despair might occasion to revolt, inspired but little confidence in a prince so ambitious.

Desirous of acquiring a military establishment, whose interest it should be to increase his own personal glory, he transported negroe families from the South, of whom his legions might be formed, and by whom increased. Instructed in the military art during a tolerably long reign, these negroes successfully aided in establishing and confirming despotism. At the death of Muley Ishmael, near a hundred thousand negroes had served him as soldiers.

The feebleness of his successors augmented the power and arrogance of this military body,

body, that now was master of the throne and empire ; it was become equally odious to the Sovereign and the subject. After finding himself the victim of their inconstancy and avarice, Muley Abdallah felt the necessity of humbling these turbulent troops. He sowed dissention between the negroes and the principal tribes of the Moors, so that the former were at length sacrificed to the hatred and vengeance of the provinces, and to the political repose and barbarity of the despot.

As a balance to the power of those negroes who survived these divisions, this Prince formed bodies of troops from the mountaineers, and other distant casts, who became so many hostages for the fidelity of their tribes. Independent of the legions in actual service, each province, when needful, was obliged to furnish and maintain its contingent of armed troops.

By this prudent plan the despot always had a sufficient body of forces, at his command, to quell any provincial insurrections. In these national levies he also found a necessary

cessary support against the enterprizes of the negroes, and his troops divided by prejudices concerning their colour, their origin, religion, for such prejudices exist the most in the most ignorant, were too much disunited among themselves to inspire him with fear,

Such then was, and such still is, the military establishment of the Empire of Morocco, and which was less the effect of a political and well-combined plan, than the result of a succession of accidents, that, in all kingdoms, after having destroyed, again insensibly restores order; like, as in nature, we see a calm succeed to the shock of elements, threatening total desolation.

Change of times and change of circumstances have given birth to new reforms. About ten years ago fifty thousand negroes were kept in pay in Morocco. The reigning Emperor perceiving that the maintenance of these troops was become burdensome, at a time when the public distress required, or enforced, public œconomy, deter-

determined, in order to prevent every disagreeable consequence, to disarm and disband the negroes, and also to confine them in the opposite extremities of his empire. Of the fifty thousand he preserved only some five or six as his body guard, selecting those in whose commanders he had the greatest confidence. He keeps near his person a still greater number of trusty troops; but I doubt whether the total amount to more than between fifteen and eighteen thousand men in constant pay; a part of whom are always sent into the distant provinces, to protect the tax-gatherers.

Yet must not the military power of the Empire of Morocco be estimated at twenty thousand men. Although their employment is that of agriculture, most of the Moors are soldiers, or, in case of need, can soon so become; not any of them but keep a horse, a sabre, and a musket, and who are not ready to march at the first command of the Monarch.

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When the Emperor is in want of troops, each province, on his requisition, supplies and maintains a number of men proportionate to its population and its wealth ; but these extraordinary levies are only kept in service when the tillage of their lands does not require their presence ; that is to say, between seed time and harvest, and after harvest till it is again necessary to prepare their lands. The Emperor bestows no other gratifications on these provincial troops than such as he himself pleases, and which are never of any great value.

It must be remembered that this empire, having nothing to fear from its neighbours, stands less in need of the support of numerous armies. A detachment of four or six thousand men, who march and accompany the despot, is sufficient to maintain order throughout his provinces, and to inspire the States to the west of his Empire with dread, where nature has done nothing in defence of the people, and where agriculture and the spirit of trade have

have encouraged the love of public tranquillity.

When those tribes that inhabit the neighbourhood of the mountains give tokens of insurrection, some ten or twelve thousand additional troops, of the provincial levies, are sufficient to reduce them to obedience. These expeditions generally consist in ravaging the country, and in the destruction of those wretches who have neither money to purchase remission nor arms for self-defence. Such incursions are the more frequent in the Empire of Morocco because that fear, there, continually keeps the minds of men in fermentation; it is a smothered fire, the embers of which occasionally glow, but are unable to produce a flame. The people are too much debased; there is too little concord among the different tribes, which are always too much divided among themselves to produce any great effects.

As the military forces of states are in proportion to their population, and their progress in the arts, I presume the

these circumstances taken into the estimate, there are more soldiers in the Empire of Morocco than under the Princes of Europe, if we except those nations where the people are entirely educated in the use of arms, and where each man is a soldier. The population of this empire has but little relation to its extent, since it appears that two thirds of it lie uncultivated and uninhabited. I doubt whether this population exceeds six millions, and do not suppose it can be less than five.

Notwithstanding that these people are naturally addicted to the shepherd's and the farmer's life, yet, having the continual revolutions which have existed among their ancestors before their eyes, military ideas are kept up in their imaginations, and even give birth to the chief of their amusements. I suppose the Emperor of Morocco might, with great ease, raise from two to three hundred thousand men, did he find so great a force necessary. True it is that armies thus numerous would soon experience want of subsistence in a country laid waste by its own poverty,

poverty, that they must presently be dispersed, and for this sole reason annihilated.

It would likewise scarcely be possible to put so large a body in motion, and to render it actually serviceable in an open country, where there are no places of arms or fortresses to form magazines, protect a retreat, or rally a defeated army.

It may also reasonably be supposed that this empire will never have need to make such efforts, so long as it shall have nothing to fear from its neighbours. This time, however, will come, should the regency of Algiers change its principles and constitution, and, busied with projects of ambition, endeavour to extend its empire. This would apparently be difficult to execute, though somewhat like this is to be feared, from the dislike these two States have to each other *. If the government

* The regency of Algiers is a military power, composed of Turks, whom the Moors regard as usurpers; for which reason there is a continual jealousy between this regency and the court of Morocco.

of Algiers continues prudent, it will scarcely attempt to extend its domains ; it is quite sufficient that it has at present a multitude of Moorish tribes under its yoke, which they support with repugnance. This regency would likewise no longer preserve its aristocracy and its strength, were it to extend itself by conquest.

Were the Moors capable of union, and susceptible of courage, it would, perhaps, be much more easy for the Sharifs of Morocco to exterminate the power of Algiers, than for the Algerines to make conquests in Morocco. According to present appearances, no change, however, can with probability be presaged ; but, should the Turks receive any severe checks in Europe, it may well be feared that the regencies of Barbary would anew become the asylum of the Ottoman soldiery and marine, which might expose the shores of the Mediterranean to future revolution.

The troops kept in pay by the Emperor of Morocco, that may be looked upon

as his body guard, and that at present do not exceed eighteen thousand men, have various divisions; they are distinguished by their tribes, the Negroes, the Ludaya, the Gayoran, and others; each have their colours, and their signal of rallying. These divisions are composed of a number of companies, each consisting of a hundred men; every company has its chief, or captain, whom they call the chief of a hundred; under him are two officers, who command fifty each; and ten other more inferior officers, who have the command of ten men each. All that these troops know of military discipline is submission to their superiors; they are not subject to any precision in their exercise or manœuvres.

The embodied troops that form the Emperor's guard are, in Morocco, known by the title of Al Boccari, or Sidi Boccari, Muley Ishmael having put himself under the auspices of this commentator of the Koran, and consecrated his first legions in the oath he administered to them.

His book, deposited under a tent in the centre of the army, is the signal for rallying the troops, and a sort of pledge for their fidelity. Thus, likewise, had the Carthaginians a sacred tabernacle, beside the tent of the general, to which the whole army directed its devotion.

The Emperor of Morocco has but few infantry in his service; the chief force of his armies consists in his cavalry; but that cavalry, always acting in disorder, would be very little able to resist the shock of the European horse. There is no kind of uniformity either among the men or horses; the reigning Emperor seemed inclined to introduce some distinction of regimental dress, but this novelty never became prevalent.

The Moors are good horsemen; they can endure hunger, thirst, fatigue, and every inconvenience; they have the necessary qualities to form good soldiers, but they are not so formed.

Armies among the Moors are usually drawn up in a crescent, the strength of which is in the centre : here also the artillery is placed ; their whole art of attack consists in acting with the detachments at the two extremities, so as to surround the enemy, put him between two fires, and at the same time expose him to be cannonaded by the artillery.

When an army is in motion little care is taken of a supply of provisions ; it usually encamps near springs, or a river, and the provinces in the neighbourhood of the camp are commanded to fix their markets in its environs, that each, paying for what he wants, may obtain food and necessaries ; should there be a scarcity in such provinces, the enterprize must be abandoned ; in dry seasons the Emperor has often been obliged to desist from an expedition for want of pasturage, or of water, for the horse.

All the arms necessary for war are not fabricated in the Empire of Morocco : the reigning Emperor, desirous of establishing founderies

founderies for artillery, about fifteen years ago, sent for the necessary workmen to Constantinople; but this project was abandoned, equally on account of the expence and because he feared lest his subjects might turn this art to the destruction of his own power. He contented himself with forming a manufactory for bombs at Tetuan; that, in the fabrication of these, he might melt down a number of waste cannon, of which he could make no other use,

During the last fifteen or twenty years this Emperor has procured more than sixty mortars of various dimensions, and above two hundred pieces of artillery, which he has received as presents from foreign courts, or has purchased by his agents. He has likewise exercised some pupils in the art of gunnery, and the firing of bombs; but pupils never become masters when they do nothing but what they are bidden, and where the mind is not susceptible of those principles by which art is brought to perfection.

The muskets necessary for defence are forged in the Empire of Morocco, and for this purpose they use the iron of Biscay, which is more easily worked and polished than that of the north. These muskets are made too heavy, are about six feet and a half long, and are too much loaded with iron ; they fatigue the soldier, and the muzzles drop when they fire ; their locks are safe and solid, but snap hard, and are consequently slow.

The sabres used by the Moors are also manufactured in Morocco, and from the iron of Biscay. There, as every where else, certain waters are found, which temper steel with greater perfection.

Gunpowder is likewise made in this empire, but the sulphur which is used is brought from Europe. Not having acquired sufficient art in purifying their powder, it is so glutinous that, on the fourth or fifth discharge, the priming will not take fire, or, at least, retards the explosion ; the bad quality of the powder
likewise

likewise renders it susceptible of humidity, and prevents its being long preserved.

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CHAP.

C H A P. XVI.

Maritime Strength of the Empire of Morocco.

THE world is no better informed concerning the naval than the military power of Morocco, before and after the tenth century. We only know that, in the time of Jacob Almonfor, and afterward, under some of his successors, various considerable armaments were formed to transport the troops of Morocco into Spain, and profit by the divisions which then distracted that country; but we are unacquainted with these armaments in the detail. It should seem that the forests, which then remained on the northern part of the coast, were exceedingly useful for their shipbuilding; but, as the marine, after the maritime efforts which had exhausted Rome and Carthage, was only at this time reviving, we cannot

cannot have any very high ideas of its strength in those countries.

Probably, after the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and those revolutions which internally distracted the empire of Morocco, all naval exertions, were long renounced. The coasts of Barbary, washed by the Mediterranean and the Western Ocean, only gave harbour to some pirates; and the progress of these, it is presumed, could not be very great, the Portuguese having conquered Ceuta, Arzilla and Tangiers. Navigation began to be encouraged under the reign of Muley Ishmael, when these towns had been abandoned, and commerce became more generally promoted throughout Europe.

The river of Sallee, which brought vessels to the towns of Sallee and Rabat, was at that time more navigable than it is at present, and admitted vessels of great burden, and heavily built. Sallee was a kind of republic, feudatory to Muley Ishmael, the people of which addicted themselves to trade and piracy. The Sallee rovers became

came formidable to the merchants of Europe, and their very name still preserves some impression of the fears they at that time inspired, but which now daily weaken.

Muley Ishmael received ten per cent. on each prize from the Corsairs of this regency, and also ten slaves from every hundred. The galleys that cruised in the straits wholly appertained to the Emperor. An old Moor, whom I knew, and who was a ship-boy on board these galleys, has assured me, they carried no cannon, that they were ballasted with flints gathered on the sea side, or the banks of the river, which was their whole ammunition; that, rowing along-side merchant vessels, which at that time were themselves ill armed, they showered such a quantity of these stones, on board, that the sailors were obliged to run, and they took possession of the ship.

History informs us that the custom of flinging stones is most ancient among the Moors, as it also was among the inhabitants

tants of the Balearic islands, now called Majorca and Minorca; for, in the wars between the Romans and the Carthaginians, the Moors were opposed to these people, whom they fought at their own weapons.

Muley Ishmael maintained slaves from ostentation, employed them in the building of his palaces, and sacrificed them to his caprice and ferocity. Under the reign of Muley Abdallah, Sallee and Rabat preserved their municipal government; and piracy, subject to similar taxation, had similar success, except that this Prince reserved the slaves to himself, paying the pirate for them at the rate of fifty piasters per head. Equally cruel with his father, Muley Abdallah put many of them to death, in his sanguinary madness, but he allowed them to be ransomed.

The reigning Emperor, who has not inherited the ferocity of his forefathers, having deprived the regency of Sallee of its riches, privileges, and independence, commanded the Corsairs to act for his profit;

profit; and, considering the redemption of slaves as a source of revenue, he has treated them with more humanity.

This change, in the manner of government, and in the administration of the town of Sallee, has been favourable to the commercial part of Europe. The courage of the Sallee rovers, no longer excited by interest, which is the most powerful of motives for the undertaking of dangerous enterprizes, declines; deprived of the profits of their piracies, they are no longer eager in search of perils.

In the beginning of his reign the Emperor had vessels built at Sallee, which would carry six-and-twenty, and even six-and-thirty guns; for the earthquake, so destructive to Lisbon, which happened on the first of November, 1755, increased the depth of water at the mouth of the river to near thirty feet at flood time. The sands, however, annually accumulate, and the burden of vessels is obliged to be proportioned to the depth of water at the bar.

These large vessels inspired considerable fear, but did little damage; heavily and disproportionately built, they were bad sailers, and perished, in time, through the inexperience of their captains. Piracy at this time had but little success; and the less because that France and Spain were then at war with England, and merchant ships either durst not keep the seas or were obliged to be strong enough to sustain an action. The peace of 1763 once more occasioned the people of Salée to make new efforts; they took some Provençal ships in the Mediterranean, the crews of which, imagining they were chased by Algerine corsairs, durst not make any defence.

They had the like success in the Western Ocean, and in two years took more than fifteen vessels, ten of which were French.

One Captain Motard is, perhaps, the only man among them who made any resistance. The memory of the action he sustained merits to be preserved to his honour;

nour ; his whole strength consisted but of four cannon, and twenty-four men, some of whom were passengers ; yet did he valorously defend himself within pistol shot against Reys Salah, a reputed desperado, and who commanded a xebeck of twenty-four guns and a hundred-and-thirty men. Motard struck just as his vessel was sinking, having lost a part of his men, and killed or disabled more than forty of the crew of the corsair.

When Sidy Mahomet had made peace with the principal nations of Europe, he collected all his vessels into a squadron, that he might maintain his marine force, and add to its respectability.

Five of these his frigates, or xebecks, as they were returning from Tunis in September, 1773, were encountered off Cape Spartel by the Chevalier Acton *, at that

* The same gentleman who, sometime afterward, entered into the service of the court of Naples, to whom the King has since confided the administration of the marine, and also the war department.—The Chevalier Acton is an Englishman, and at present well known in Europe.

time the commander of a small Tuscan frigate: After a few broadsides he disordered and dispersed four of them. Reys Laschmi Misteri, of Rabat, who led the van, had the courage singly to engage the Chevalier, as well to relieve his associates as to give them time to rally, and return to the charge; but the valorous men of Sallee were not of the same opinion; they made for the Port of Laracha, and two of the four, in their great haste, were stranded. Reys Laschmi Misteri was forced, after a short engagement, to strike, and was brought into Leghorn.

On this day the Chevalier Aston, with a small Tuscan frigate, destroyed a part of the maritime force of Morocco: the fleets of the great powers of Europe never had a similar victory. The whole naval force of Sidy Mahomet * consists in little more

* All the Emperors have the title of Muley, which, in Arabic, signifies Lord and Master: the reigning Emperor, respecting the name of the Prophet, after whom he is called, has assumed the epithet Sidy, which has the same signification as Muley, but is more respectful.

than

than six or eight frigates of two hundred tons burthen, with port holes for from fourteen to eighteen six-pounders, and, perhaps, a dozen gallies. He has a number of sailors registered, who receive a small pay, but which is not fixed; so that his subjects are little inclined to a seafaring life, and become sailors with reluctance.

The choice of commanders is less influenced by the opinion entertained of their capacity than that of their known wealth; the Emperor seldom will trust his ships to any but rich people, who are able to answer for accidents: this necessarily occasions the commanders to sail late, and return soon, taking care to avoid all perils which may endanger their fortune and peace of mind.

Although the naval strength of the Emperor of Morocco is not very considerable, the situation of his states will always be an advantage: he possesses Tangiers and Tetuan at the different mouths of the strait, through which vessels from all parts of the globe, sailing for the Mediterranean, must

must pass ; and his row gallies, in so narrow a passage, are always capable of calculating their distances, and ascertaining a safe retreat.

VOL. I. Y CHAP.

C H A P. XVII.

Revenues of the Emperor of Morocco.

ABSOLUTE master of every thing contained within his dominions, it may seem useless, or superfluous, to form any estimate of the revenues of the Emperor of Morocco, since they depend so entirely on his will. To render his yoke more light, however, and to encourage his slaves in their labours, he nourishes among them ideas of property: the Despot contents himself with those impositions prescribed by the Koran, save and except such innovations as have been introduced by time and custom, and which are held in respect by a people so submissive.

The taxes which the Koran allows, and which the Arab Monarchs have ever exacted

acted from their husbandmen and shepherd subjects, consist in tenths, on all the productions of their lands and herds. This impost, which is the most ancient, the most natural, and the least destructive of all tributes paid by the cultivator, was sufficient in those ages, when the Sovereign kept no standing armies, and when the defence of property, the interest of religion, or rather the spirit of fanaticism, and the thirst of plunder, made soldiers flock to his standards.

Taxation remained the same when the various States of Morocco erected themselves into monarchies; the wants of these petty sovereigns were not sufficiently exigent, nor had they sufficient strength, to enforce the exaction of heavier contributions. In these distant times the revenues of the kings of Morocco could not have been very considerable; the burden lay light upon the people, and they were still better able to bear it, because they had few wants, and were in those days more wealthy.

It also appears probable that interior commerce, which originates in barter and the exchange of the respective products, and which most produces intercourse between nations, was in these times more active than it is at present, and that the communication was much greater, and more continual, between the nations who inhabit the interior parts of Africa, and those on the coasts of Barbary. The histories, the narratives, the tales which the old people of the country repeat, and traditionally transmit to their children, and with which they amuse their fanciful avidity, all mention the gold dust which the Moors received from Tombut, and other southern countries in the neighbourhood of the Niger. For this they only gave the productions of their lands, which they could obtain by labour, and which is ever a true source of wealth. Wars, revolutions, their arbitrary government, the European settlements on the African shores, and other causes, may, perhaps, have forced trade into another channel, and the provinces of Morocco may no longer have the same resources.

It

It cannot, at first view, be doubted but that this trade in gold dust was formerly a part of the merchandize of interior Africa, before the coast had any immediate intercourse or commerce with Europe, when we consider the immense riches accumulated at Carthage, and the prodigious efforts that republic made, during wars that continued more than half a century.

After revolutions so great, the different tribes of the Moors must have kept these communications open, but with less vigour and success, the means of such communications having continued in a fluctuating state till the close of the fifteenth century. It is sufficiently apparent that, not before this period, as I have already observed, did the treasures of Africa find a new and swifter vent, in consequence of the progress of navigation.

Yet must we be astonished when we remember the riches that were collected and heaped together among the mountains of Morocco, at those which were seized by Muley Arshid, in the first acts of his fero-

city; and afterward at the quantity of gold ducats, in the time of Muley Ishmael, which some wealthy families had preserved, and the remains of which they have concealed from the avidity of his successors.

The Empire was, beyond contradiction, more rich in these ancient times, because that property was better secured, and industry had more freedom of exertion, whence the people were universally more at their ease. Muley Ishmael himself, during a long reign, maintained numerous forces, was ever in motion, and erected many buildings, without augmenting the former taxes, or establishing new; and, after reigning fifty-four years in a state of continual agitation, he left behind him near a hundred millions of livres, or full four millions sterling.

The Jews, who were the collectors of taxes over the whole coast, that the Emperor might continue them in their office, annually presented him with a saddle, the trees of which were covered with plates of gold

gold, and the buckles, the stirrups, and the bridle furniture, were of the same metal. If we suppose the whole worth of this present to be some thirty or forty marks of gold, it still would only amount to five-and-twenty or thirty thousand livres, or from a thousand to twelve hundred pounds. The Jews, who were then ten times as numerous as they are at present, paid, as a tax upon the whole people, a hen and twelve chickens in gold, artfully wrought, the feathers in flakes, and shaded in coloured mastic.

This was less a burdensome imposition than an offering of homage from the Jewish nation to the Sovereign; and this art itself, so much vaunted, and now so utterly unknown, is a proof that the country was more wealthy, and that the industry and invention of its workmen were thereby incited. All circumstances demonstrate that gold was plentiful in Morocco a hundred years ago, while now a debtor, who is making a payment of a thousand crowns, often shall not possess, among his money, a single ducat in gold.

A circumstance still more fortunate, at that time, for the people was that provisions were at a very low price. Corn was sold for less than five shillings the *Setier* of Paris *; the farmers who brought it into their cities, having collected money from all who wished to buy, abandoned the remainder to the first comer. In a country where there are no wants, it cannot be affirmed there are any poor. A country Moor, already supplied with every necessary, except shoes, and sope to wash his haick, previous to some festival, took to market, perhaps, six quintals of wheat on his camel, and returned satisfied if he could only bring back two pair of shoes, or slippers, one for his wife, and another for himself, and two pounds of sope to wash their garments; all of which would scarcely cost him six and six pence, but which were quite sufficient to make him fine enough to go to some wedding.

* The weight of which I estimate to be about two quintals and a half.

I shall not here enquire into all the variations to which, during a century, the revenues of the empire have been subject, nor shall I discuss the causes of these variations; suffice it in general to observe, that, in proportion as the resources of the State became insufficient, the Monarchs have taken several violent methods of supplying deficiencies; that these have insensibly drained all the channels of commerce, have relaxed every spring of industry, and have contributed to augment the poverty and oppression of the people. I shall confine myself to give a brief account of the revenues of the present Emperor of Morocco, and of the manner in which they are collected,

These revenues I shall distinguish into ancient and modern; the ancient consist in the tenths levied on the productions of the lands, flocks, and herds, the capitation tax of the Jews, the profits of coining, arbitrary taxes and impositions, and, finally, the duties laid on the importation of merchandize,

The

The tithes levied on the productions of lands, flocks, and herds, is a native right, the less burdensome among the Moors because that the husbandman pays in kind, and not according to any variable estimate. He who grows ten bushels of corn pays one without any retrospect or enquiry concerning a more abundant harvest, which, among barbarous states, presents an example of justice well worthy the imitation of the most civilized.

The facility of collecting this tithe is increased, because that the country Moors, being all united in a body in the centre of their grounds, are tolerably exact in watching each other, and preventing any fraud being committed on the rights of the Emperor*. As this tithe is paid in kind, from every sort of product, corn, cattle, wool, and others, the Monarch has ma-

* The collecting of a like tithe would be equally and still more easy in Europe, because that it might be farmed to the communities themselves, as has been most judiciously observed by *M. de Vauban* in his *Projet de la Dixme Royale*, which is not the less precious for being old.

gazines in the great provincial towns, wherein to store these revenues, which he brings to market, having first deducted a sufficient quantity for the maintenance of his palaces, and of his foldiers and sailors, among whom he often distributes wheat and barley.

The profits arising from coining are very moderate, for the circulation of money throughout this empire is exceedingly small. In revenge the Emperor so debases the coin by alloy, that the Spanish piafter, which, according to the assay of Paris, is worth about five livres seven sous, or four shillings and seven-pence halfpenny, exchanged for the money of Morocco, yields the Emperor about seven livres ten sous, or six shillings and three pence; whence it results that, in Morocco, money must be imported, and never exported. The tax that the Jews pay, as a tribute, or a capitation tax, is an ancient impost, which, as I have already observed, was very moderate. The Jews of the present day pay ten fold as much as their fathers in the last century, and their population, perhaps, is
also

also ten fold decreased, infomuch that the impositions upon this nation, in the course of a century, have increased in the ratio of a hundred to one.

The arbitrary taxes, or casual impositions levied on provinces and wealthy individuals, form an indeterminate revenue, incapable of fixed valuation, as they depend wholly on the occasion and temporary circumstances. Motives for levying these taxes incessantly present themselves, when the rapacious will of the Prince shall happen to equal his power. Let it be here remarked, that, in despotic States, these destructive means of raising wealth are like water springs and mines, they are exhausted by too frequent use.

The duties on exports and imports of foreign merchandize form an ancient branch of the revenue, levied by all the Emperors of Morocco. However heavy these duties may be on importation, having once paid them, the goods and effects may be transported through all parts of the empire,

empire, without being liable to pay any new tax.

The duty of importation in the States of Morocco is paid in kind, which should seem to be an advantage to the merchant ; but, it will easily be perceived, it is, therefore, the more advantageous to the Prince, who retails the effects he thus acquires with profit.

The custom-house duties formerly were but trifling throughout the empire, because that maritime commerce had not then extended itself as at present. The frequent revolutions, likewise, in the country rendered the condition of the merchant fluctuating and dangerous, and banished commerce from the coasts of Barbary. The revenue they produced has never been considerable, except in the beginning of the reign of Sidy Mahomet ; commerce was at that time capable of increase throughout his states ; but he, since, ever forming his resolutions on momentary convenience, has successively augmented the duties. Whence it has happened here, as every
where

where else, in proportion as the imposts are increased, commerce has necessarily diminished. This Monarch has, perhaps, more effectually drained his country than a conqueror would an invaded kingdom, which it was his intent to abandon.

Either the desire or the necessity of adding to the revenues of his estates has induced the reigning Emperor to impose new taxes, which have raised some commotions among his subjects. A poor nation, tenacious of its former customs, confined in its objects of industry, and its means of barter, is impatient under new impositions. These recent taxes are laid on snuff, which is farmed by monopolizers, to whom the Emperor has granted an exclusive privilege; on commodities per load, as they enter and go out of towns, or pass ferries; on woollen stuffs, which must be stamped before they are brought to market; and, also, on all the trinkets made by goldsmiths. The governors of the cities are to collect these taxes at a fixed sum, by which they very seldom are gainers. These new imposts, which would
be

be less burdensome in countries where the subjects might repay themselves by the encouragement given to their industry, having been considered among the Moors as innovations, contrary to the spirit of the Koran, almost occasioned an insurrection at Mequinez in 1778; it was chiefly quelled through the resolution of the Chiefs, and the total want of energy among the people.

In the present exhausted state of the Empire of Morocco, these taxes all united are scarcely sufficient for its own support; and so little can œconomy set apart for the treasury of the Emperor, which formerly was very considerable, that, drained by a concatenation of circumstances, it was reduced in 1782 to about two millions of ducats, which may amount to twelve or thirteen millions of livres, or five hundred thousand pounds sterling*. Such is the state of an empire that nature has en-

* The ducat of Morocco, as paid in currency, is estimated at six livres, thirteen sous, four deniers of France.

riched

riched with her gifts, and which, after having been laid desolate by the conflicting passions of man, is at present scarcely sufficient to supply his wants.

In the second volume I shall give a brief history of the sovereigns who have governed this empire, and of the revolutions which have exposed it to so many ravages and oppressions ; the traces of which, far from being effaced, seem to revive with each reviving generation.

CHAP.

C H A P. XVIII.*

Additional miscellaneous remarks concerning the manners of the Moors, and characteristic anecdotes of the Emperors, Muley Ishmael, and his successor, Muley Daiby.

THE Moors are excellent horsemen; they ride short like the ancient Parthians and the modern huffars. Their saddles have peaks before and behind; their stirrups are placed far back. They level and fire on full speed, hold the bridle between their teeth, and turn their horses as they wish, by the pressure of their knees and

* This chapter is not written by M. Chenier, but added, from authentic writers, by the translator. Some account of those writers, and the reasons for inserting this chapter, are given in the preface. T.

the equipoize of their bodies. It is an opinion among them that the Christians have no horses, in which they are confirmed by the eagerness of Europeans to purchase and export the horses of Barbary. According to Braithwaite, to ride on a mare is a token of poverty and meanness*. This people seem as careful of their horses as they are negligent of themselves. Such horses as have been to Mecca are held to be Saints; they work no more, nor would the Emperor himself dare to mount them. Their necks are adorned by rosaries and relics like the tombs of their Saints. The stables of these holy horses are sanctuaries for criminals. Muley Ishmael had a quadruped Saint of this species, which he used to visit occasionally, and whose feet and tail he would in reverence kiss. After drinking himself, and giving drink to his

* May not this account for the mistake, if it be one, of M. Chenier, noticed at page 168? It seems probable the Moors ride mares, either, because they can sell their horses to advantage, or that, the horses are seized by their oppressive governors for their own use, and to mount the troops each governor maintains. T.

saint,

Saint, he would sometimes permit his favourites to drink out of the same bowl.

Exclusive of their horses, the Moors hold various other animals in respect. Their dogs are numerous, almost to incredibility, for they think it sinful to destroy them. Their barking is so incessant that a stranger, unaccustomed to this noise, is incapable of sleeping. M. Saint Olon says, the storks at Alcazar were more numerous than the inhabitants; and the reason he gives for the aversion the Moors have to killing of them is, that, they believe God, at the intercession of Mahomet, metamorphosed a troop of Arabs, who robbed the pilgrims that were journeying to Mecca, into Storks.

Muley Ishmael had two snow-white dromedaries that were daily washed with soap. He likewise kept forty cats, which he distinguished each by its name, and fed plentifully himself. One day, making a parade of his justice, being told that one of his cats had eaten a rabbit, he was determined to inflict an exemplary punishment on this

wicked cat. Accordingly he commanded an executioner to seize the cat, drag her through the streets of Mequinez, with a cord round her neck, whip her severely, and cry aloud—"Thus does my master treat scoundrel cats!" After this the criminal was to be beheaded; all which was punctually executed.

One of this Emperor's pleasures was to see dogs, wolves, and lions, fight; and, when any one of them was in danger of being devoured by the other, he would command his slaves to snatch the victim from the jaws of the lions, which service seldom was performed without the loss of a limb. He would himself encounter lions, taking care first to shoot them, and afterward, entering their park with his attendants, would complete his easy victory with his spear. Christian captives, by his orders, were often obliged to combat lions, for the diversion of his wives. One of these captives, being commanded to fight a lion, had the presence of mind to retire, sabre in hand, toward a ditch full of water, into which, pretending his foot slipped, he
 fell,

fell, knowing the lion would not follow him thither. His stratagem, by good fortune, pleased the tyrant, and the slave escaped.

In their public processions, when attending their Bashaws, the Moors are tumultuous, but dextrous. They single out each other to tilt, and will put aside the thrust of a spear, though made at their backs; will dart their lances into the air, and catch them again, their horses all the while on full speed. They are exceedingly fond of the explosion of gunpowder. To honour Mr. Russel, the English ambassador, the Bashaw gave them a barrel, which they fired as fast as they could; loading, not with cartridges, but, with loose powder. M. St. Olon, the French ambassador, relates that Muley Ishmael commanded him to be seated on the top of a high wall, without chair, covering, or carpet, there to be a spectator of a review of ten thousand horse, and two thousand foot. Their manœuvres were all disorderly, and their onsets began by cries and shouts; they afterward all filed off beside the wall, and,

that they might do honour to M. St. Olon, each man discharged his firelock in his face ; this being the mode in which they shew respect to their own chiefs. In their tilting matches they, however, are frequently unhorsed, but their tilting lances are not pointed with iron. Their military music consists of drums, fifes, and hautbois, the mingled noise of which is so discordant that, De la Faye remarks, it flayed his ears.

Boar-hunting is one of their amusements, the spears for which are made of a heavy and tough wood, with blades about half a yard in length, and very thick, that they may not break against the hide of the boar. They rouse the game by hideous yells and shouts ; and, should a single Moor happen to find himself in the way of the boar, holding it disgraceful to recede, he stands firm, and receives the boar upon his spear. The animal gores himself to the extremity of the blade, where there is a cross bar to prevent the farther insertion of the spear, and the hunter from being wounded by the tusks of the enraged boar. The Moor then either quits the spear, or, if
strong

strong enough, keeps his prey at bay, till his companions arrive to his aid.

The Moors; if equals, salute by a quick motion of joining hands, and each kissing his own. Inferiors kiss the hand, and often the head, of superiors. The Alcaid is saluted by kissing his feet; if on horseback; otherwise, his hand, cloaths, or, if sitting, his knees.

Windus affirms, the climate of Morocco is delicious, the soil generous, and fertile beyond imagination; that the Moors imitate the Spanish mode of agriculture; that judicious people informed him not a hundredth part of the lands were tilled, and that yet, so bountiful was nature, the Emperor was supposed to have corn enough in his matamores to supply the country for five years; that the land would produce a hundred fold more than the consumption of the empire, were the inhabitants protected in the peaceful enjoyment of the fruits of their labour; but that, should the poor husbandmen acquire a pair of oxen and plough, he would not only be liable to

be robbed of them by the next petty mercenary governor, but obliged to sell his corn to pay an arbitrary tribute; that therefore there were no proprietors of land beyond two or three leagues round each town, and, if by chance some scattered huts were seen, they certainly belonged to an Alcaid, and were inhabited by his servants, who were treated like the beasts that aided them to plough the ground.

According to Braithwaite, the northern part of the empire will yield all the essential products of Europe, and the southern whatever is grown in the West Indies, which sufficiently speaks the native riches of the country.

The rains are sometimes heavy. Braithwaite, in his journal, says, returning to Tangiers, he rode all day in the most severe wind and rain he ever knew, of so long a continuance; that the ice was sometimes an inch thick at Mequinez, and that the cold was so piercing he and his companions were one night obliged to dismount and walk. It ought, however, to be observed

served that the human body feels a small degree of cold, after excessive heat, much more sensibly than a far greater, when the change is less sudden.

The Moors have an opinion similar to that of the Christians, that—"The kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force." They think importunity will oblige God to grant their requests. In the time of heavy rains the children all day run about the streets, and bawl for fair weather; and, in the time of drought, for rain, making a hideous noise. They sometimes continue this practice for more than a week. Should God not listen to the children, they are joined by the Saints and Talbes, who proceed altogether into the fields and call for rain. If this still prove ineffectual, they go barefoot in a body, and meanly cloathed, to pray at the tombs of their Saints for rain, to which pious practice the Emperor himself occasionally conforms. Should all these efforts fail, they at last drive the Jews out of the town, and forbid them to return without rain—"For," say they,

they, “ though God will not grant rain to
 “ our prayers, he will to those of the Jews,
 “ to rid himself of their importunity, and
 “ the stinking odour of their breath and
 feet.” This, adds Windus, was done some-
 time ago at Tangiers.

When the Moors happen to be caught in
 the rain, on their journies, or in the fields,
 they strip themselves naked, bundle up
 their apparel, and seat themselves on the
 packet till the shower is over ; after which
 they dress themselves, and proceed on their
 way.

The bread of Morocco is very excellent ;
 the corn and flour of Fez is remarkably
 sweet and white. Their cheese is little
 better than curd ; yet, though sour in five
 or six hours, is kept and eaten when old.
 They do not skim their milk to make but-
 ter, but take it from the cow, and shake it
 in a skin ; it is sour, and kept in plastered
 holes in the ground, or buried in earthen
 jars. Instead of butter, the poor use beef,
 mutton, and goat suet. When eating, the
 Moors place their dishes on a large piece
 of

of greasy leather spread upon the ground, which is a substitute for both table and cloth, and round this they seat themselves cross-legged. Bufnot informs us that Muley Ishmael eat in this manner, without cloth, napkin, knife, or fork, and out of an earthen or wooden platter.

The Moors are so temperate that a man of sixty is not thought old, but their temperance appears to be more the effect of necessity than choice. The very brothers of the Bashaw of Tetuan used to enter the kitchen, during Mr. Russel's embassy, and threaten to murder the cook, if he did not give them pudding and wine. The sons of the Emperor, Muley Ishmael, have even stolen bread from the pockets of the slaves.

Their avidity and meanness, like many or most other of their peculiarities, can only be accounted for by their ignorance. A court lady, in whose lap the drunken Emperor, Muley Daiby, used to sleep, accepted a moidore as a bribe. The domestics of the palace would cut the buttons
and

and the very clothes from the back of the English ambassador, and his attendants, if they were not careful to appear in the worst they had; and the porters, at the various palace gates, individually refused to let them pass till they were bribed. One of the guards picked the pocket of Mr. Windus as he stood beside the prince, afterward Emperor, Muley Abdallah.

When a Bashaw travels, the Moors of his district are obliged to supply him and his followers with all necessary provisions, gratis. The dread of superior power renders the inferior Alcaids exceedingly diligent, in not only bringing necessaries but presents. This dread is the origin of the Moorish servility. Windus relates, that, when the Emperor, Muley Ishmael, appeared, all present stretched out their necks, as if presenting their heads to the sabre, with their eyes fixed on the ground. Thus a man might (and indeed frequently did) lose his head without knowing any thing of the matter. Some, when he spoke, exclaimed — “ May God lengthen thy days ! “ May God bless thy life ! ” Others swore,
by

by the Almighty, all he uttered was true. Speaking of the English on a certain occasion, he said — “ May I be called the “ greatest of lyars if I have not always “ conceived a great esteem for that nation.” As it happened, he made a pause at “ the greatest of lyars,” and his eager officious courtiers exclaimed — “ By G—, “ my Lord, that is true.” This, though unintentional, was a bitter sarcasm ; for Muley Ishmael was really the greatest of lyars.

In the Emperor’s presence all, except foreign ministers and their train, are obliged to appear barefoot. One of the first English ambassadors was obliged to submit to this ceremony before Muley Ishmael ; and, in revenge, the ambassador from Morocco was constrained to appear, in the presence of Charles II. at the English court, without shoes, turban, or bonnet.

The heat of their climate, their arbitrary government, and universal ignorance, render the Moors exceedingly idle. They are but little addicted to gaming : they eat, drink,
 2 sleep,

sleep, and pray, amuse themselves with their horses and their wives, and spend the rest of their time in one continued fruitless state of indolence. To walk up and down a room they hold ridiculous. "Why should a man move, say they, without apparent cause? Is it not more rational for him to remain in the place where he is, than to go to some other for no purpose whatever but that of returning?" Numbers of them are seen seated on their hams, in the streets beside the walls, holding large strings of beads, one of which they let fall at each prayer they repeat; and these prayers are merely repetitions of the attributes of God; such as — "God is great! God is good! God is infinite! God is merciful!"

The Moors, like the Turks, have no bells, but are called to prayers from the steeples of their mosques; in all of which places of worship there is either a running stream, or a well of water. Swine are animals so unsanctified that a mosque at Tetuan was pulled down, as eternally polluted, because it had been entered by one. They have

have a prophecy that they shall be conquered on a Friday, their sabbath; for which reason the gates of their walled towns are shut on that day, as are also those of the Emperor's palace.

They ask their dead why they would die, whether they wanted any thing in this world, and if they had not cooscoosoo enough. Their burial places are without the town. They make their graves wide at the bottom, that the corpse may have sufficient room; and never put two bodies into one grave, lest they should mistake each others bones at the day of judgement. They also carry food, and put money and jewels into the grave, that they may appear as respectable in the other world as they had done in this. They imagine the dead are capable of pain. A Portuguese gentleman had one day ignorantly strayed among the tombs, and a Moor, after much wrangling, obliged him to go before the Cadi. The gentleman complained of violence, and asserted he had committed no crime; but the judge informed him he was mistaken, for that the poor dead suffered when trodden

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den on by Christian feet. Muley Ishmael once had occasion to bring one of his wives through a burial-ground, and the people removed the bones of their relations, and murmuring said he would neither suffer the living nor the dead to rest in peace.

A Jew, or Christian, who should enter one of their mosques, must either become a Mahometan or be burned alive. The country Moors purify the places where Christians have been, by burning green branches; and their superstition, concerning unclean meats, is so great that the governors of the sea ports, after a naval engagement, prohibited the eating of fish, because it was possible they might be defiled by having fed on, and partaken of, the flesh and blood of Christians.

Their hatred of the Christians, in some respects, exceeds their hatred of the Jews; for they alledge that the Christians eat pork, meat strangled, and blood, and do not wash like the Jews. When Mr. Ruffel and his attendants passed through the streets of Mequinez, three or four hundred

dred fellows would scream, all together,—
 “Curfed are the unbelievers!” If a Moor
 is angry with his afs, he firft calls him
Carran, that is cuckold, next, Son of a
 Jew, and vents the laft effort of his malice
 in the exclamation—Son of a Chriftian!
 This is their term of extreme reproach,
 which they never utter without the addi-
 tion of “God confound him!” Or—
 “May the fire of God devour his father and
 “mother!” This hatred is the lefs fur-
 prifing fince Braithwaite affirms he knew
 not which were the worft, at the court of
 Morocco, Moors, Negroes, Jews, Renega-
 does, or Chriftians. A proof of the immediate
 and powerful influence of evil example!

It is death for a Jew to curfe, or lift up
 his hand againft a Moor. If kicked by
 a boy, the Jew has no remedy but to
 run away. He is obliged to approach the
 meaneft Moor with the greateft fubmif-
 fion, and every form of refpect; whereas a
 Moor difdains to addrefs a Jew in any
 other terms than—Jew, do this; or, Jew, do
 that; and, fhould he think proper to beat a

Jew, the only hope of the latter is in entreating for pardon for the love of the Emperor, whom he prays God to preserve.

Muley Ishmael, ingenious at finding pretexts for robbing his subjects, of all religions, thought proper, one day, to assemble the Chiefs of the Jews, on some pretended important business. When they came into his presence, he, addressing them, said —

“ Dogs, as you are, I have sent for you to
 “ oblige you to take the red cap, and turn
 “ Mahometans. Above thirty years have
 “ I been amused with an idle tale of the
 “ coming of your Messiah. For my part,
 “ I believe him come already; therefore,
 “ if you do not now tell me the precise
 “ day on which he is to appear, I shall
 “ leave you neither property nor life. I
 “ will be trifled with no longer.”

Surprized at this gentle address, which they so little expected, considering how many obligations Ishmael was under to the Jewish nation, and the punctuality with which they had paid the excessive taxes with which they had been loaded, the Jews remained

mained sometime silent. One of the most prudent among them, at length, requested a week to consider of the answer they should make. The Emperor bade them begone, but told them to beware, and not invent any more of their fabulous tales. They employed the interval they were allowed in collecting that answer which they well knew he required: they amassed a considerable sum, and, bringing this as a present, said—"Sidi, our doctors have concluded the Messiah will certainly appear within thirty years."—"Yes, yes," replied Ishmael, taking the money, "I understand you, dogs as you are, and deceivers; you think to hush my immediate wrath in the hope that I shall not then be alive; but I will deceive you, in my turn; I will live, if it be but to shew the world that you are impostors, and to punish you as you shall deserve."

Several Moors came to ask advice for their wives or daughters of the doctor who attended the embassy of Stewart, some of whom were so infatuated they would

rather the patient should die than be seen; others consented, but not till it was too late. One man, only, less jealous and timid than the rest, took the doctor home to his wife, and treated him with kindness.

It is difficult, as Windus remarks, to give any general rule what a Saint, in this part of the world, is; or how he became so. Any extraordinary accident makes a Saint. A rascal, attending on Muley Ishmael, had committed some villany; and the Emperor, after raising his hand to kill him, declared he had not the power; for which the fellow was immediately sanctified, and continued in great favour.

All things are lawful to Saints, for they act as prompted by the spirit, consequently may steal, murder, or ravish. One of them seized a girl, in the streets of Sallee, who, not well comprehending such kind of holiness, made resistance; some of the sanctified tribe, however, soon tripped up her heels, and threw their haicks over her and the ravisher.

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A Christian entrusted a purse of money to a Saint ; and, when he afterward redemanded it, the Saint denied all knowledge of the transaction. The Christian applied to an Alcaid, and described his purse. As it happened, the Alcaid was a man of quick intellect. He told the Christian, had he been a Moor, he must have remained satisfied with the affirmation of the Saint ; but, being a Christian, he would oblige the Saint to swear, in the great mosque, he had not the money. The complainant replied a Christian could not enter the mosque ; and desired the Saint might swear in the porch of the house of the Alcaid. The Saint came ; the Alcaid treated him familiarly, and amused him with discoursing on various things till he had procured his beads. He then made some pretence to leave the room, and sent the beads to the Saint's wife, as a token, with a message that she must return a purse, of such a description, containing so much money. The purse of the Christian accordingly came, and the Alcaid took this occasion to seize on the effects of the Saint,

and send him to practise holiness where he was less known.

From Windus we also learn it was customary, under Muley Ishmael, to purchase men ; that is to say, one Moor, desiring the destruction or possessions of another, might buy him of the Emperor, Bashaw, or Alcaid, for a certain sum. And this was sometimes done on speculation ; the buyer torturing the man bought, in the most cruel manner, till he made him discover what money he possessed. Mr. Hatfield, an English merchant, relates, in a letter to a friend, cited by Windus, that, passing a prison, in company with another Englishman, they saw a Moor hung by the heels, with irons on his legs, pincers at his nose, his flesh cut with scissars, and two men employed in beating him, and demanding money. This, he says, was a bought man, for whom they had given five hundred ducats, and by whom they expected to gain an additional five hundred.

Two rival Jews had a contest of this kind. Memaran (or Maimoran) had been
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the chief favourite of Muley Ishmael, and had obtained the sole command of the Jews; and, fearing a rival in the enterprising Ben-Hattar, he offered the Emperor a certain number of quintals of silver for his head. Muley Ishmael sent for Ben-Hattar, and told him how large a sum had been bidden; to which the latter Jew resolutely answered he would give twice as much, for the head of the person who had made the offer. The Emperor, taking the money from both, told them they were two fools, and bade them live friends. Ben-Hattar, accordingly, obtained the daughter of Memaran in marriage, and they governed the Jews between them with absolute authority.

Indeed, so much worse is the government of Morocco than that of the Turks themselves, that the Moorish pilgrims, who resort to Mecca, frequently refuse to return. The violence of this government was not a little increased, under Muley Ishmael, by the insolence, rapacity, and cruelty of the Negroes. The most powerful of the Alcalds used to tremble in the presence of the

lowest of these Negroes. The collecting of the taxes, which his neighbours, the Algerines, could scarcely effect with the aid of ten or twelve thousand men, Muley Ishmael easily accomplished by sending two or three of these his negro emissaries : such was the terror the sight of them inspired.

Nor was the conduct of the imperial Eunuchs less arrogant. Braithwaite thus relates an example of their behaviour. A negro Eunuch, lately arrived from Mequinez, came and enquired for the English ambassador. Being informed the ambassador was not at home, he sat himself down, and called for tea, as imperiously as if the house had been his own. The Moorish admiral, Perez, paid him great respect, desired he might have tea, but also requested he might be narrowly watched, lest he and his attendants should take what did not belong to them. He gave himself insufferable airs, as if he were a person whose authority was undoubted; served the tea about himself, gave cups to all his servants, seven or eight in number, and filled them with sugar, till the English refused to supply him

him with more. After tea he called for cyder, and drank several bottles, romancing all the while in a strange manner; affirming that the Emperor, Muley Daiby, was so handsome that spectators, having once fixed their eyes on him, were unable to look off, and that his troops were more numerous than the sands of the sea. When questioned, he gave just such answers as he thought proper, without the least regard to truth. As he went he attempted to pocket the remainder of a pound of tea.

This Eunuch was young, smooth faced, lusty, exceedingly well dressed, and well attended, with habits no way inferior to those of a Bashaw. Eunuchs were used as state messengers, from the Emperor, to the governors of towns and provinces, who caressed and made them large presents, fearful of being maliciously spoken of by them at court. The presents, likewise, of governors to the Emperor's women, and other similar correspondence, passed through their hands; so that they as often travelled on the business of the women as on that of the Emperor, which gave them great authority,

thority, and, for want of a better knowledge of the world, made them so intolerably insolent.

Among various other punishments, inflicted by the barbarian Ishmael, was that of tossing. Three or four Negroes, seizing the person, ordered to be thus punished, by the hams, would throw him up, and twirl him round, so as to make him pitch with his head foremost. Thus, by frequent practice, they became so dextrous that they could break the neck at the first toss, dislocate the shoulder, or let the body fall with less danger. Sometimes the person tossed was killed, at others, severely bruised; and, if able, he must not move, while the Emperor was in sight, unless he would be tossed once more; but must counterfeit death. If really dead, no one dared bury the body, until the tyrant gave orders for the burial.

Another species of torture was that of the iron ring. This was a circle of iron, the inside of which contained sharp projecting points: it opened and shut at pleasure, by means of screws, and was usually applied

applied to the head of any person from whom money was meant to be extorted.

Drawing of teeth was one of the inhuman sports of Ishmael. He one day commanded the teeth of fourteen of his wives, or concubines, to be drawn, for no other crime than having visited each other without his permission. His son, the drunken, brutal, Muley Daiby, proved himself well worthy such a father. One of his mistresses having disobliged him, he ordered all her teeth to be drawn. In less than a week he sent for this woman, and was told she was ill. So habitual was barbarity, and a state of intoxication, to him, that he had forgotten the dreadful punishment he had inflicted, and enquired what was her disease. Being answered her teeth had all been drawn, by his command, he denied ever having given such a command; sent for the man who had been his executioner, ordered all his teeth immediately to be drawn, and returned them, inclosed in a box, to comfort the woman.

The Moorish houses are not only dark
for

for want of windows, but the doors, through which light is admitted, often have curtains before them. This gloom seems necessary to the climate; it prevents heat, and banishes the flies. The women pay visits over the tops of their houses, which are more frequented by them than the streets; and, at Mequinez, they may walk in this manner, from house to house, over the whole town; and this is much the nearest way. The streets are not paved, and, therefore, are continually rendered, by the rains and heats, either insufferably dirty or dusty.

The palace, or palaces, built at this city by Muley Ishmael, rather resemble a city than one entire building. The tower of London, says Braithwaite, might as properly be called a palace. He estimates the circumference of these buildings, including several gardens, meadows, and grounds, at three or four miles. De la Faye supposes it may be half a league, without the gardens. Windus, who gives a perspective view of this pile of buildings, says it is four miles in circumference, almost square,

square, and near no hill by which it can be overlooked. The walls are wholly of cast mortar, beaten in cases, and hardened like artificial stone. The outward wall is five-and-twenty feet thick. Within this vast enclosure are squares more extensive than Lincoln's inn fields, with piazzas; some of them are chequer-paved; others have gardens, sunken considerably below the surface, and planted with tall cypress trees, the tops of which form a beautiful variety of palace and garden. The tops of most of these buildings rise in a pyramidal form, and are covered with green varnished tiles, which have a bright and pleasant effect. The colour of green is appropriated solely to the emperor. Thirty thousand men, and ten thousand mules, are said to have been daily employed on these buildings, which are cumbrous and vast, but cool and refreshing.

Some few additional incidents, extracted from the authors cited in this chapter, will further tend to depict the manners of the Moors of those times; the people who, of all others, considering their proximity to enlightened

lightened nations, seem to have made the least improvements, or progress toward refinement. These anecdotes will all relate to the Emperors Muley Ishmael, and Muley Daiby, whose lives will be found among those of the history of the Emperors of Morocco, in the second volume ; but, as they are not inserted by M. Chenier, they will scarcely here be thought superfluous, or misplaced. They convey a melancholy picture of the dreadful errors, and caprices, of power unrestrained ; and its pernicious, its exterminating, consequences : a picture that cannot be too often, or too forcibly, presented to the eyes of man.

So native is justice to the human heart, and its necessity so evident, that Muley Ishmael himself pretended to have it in the utmost regard. Shooting, and striking, at random, as he did, it sometimes happened those were killed at whom the stroke was not intended ; in which case he would, very civilly, beg the dead person's pardon, but add it was not to be avoided : the fault, if there was any, was with God, for he had decreed the man must die. When he
killed

killed any one, without being able to assign a motive, which was frequently the case, he would have it understood that, acting wholly by the appointment of God, he could not do wrong, nor had any thing to fear from man.

His mercy was, sometimes, as unaccountable as were his murders. A Spaniard had been bribed to shoot him, but, missing his aim, lodged the two balls with which he had loaded his gun in the pommel of his saddle. The Spaniard was seized, and it was expected he would have suffered a death of torture. The Emperor, however, reproaching him, asked what he had done to deserve this usage; whether the people were tired of him, and if he were no more beloved: after which he took no farther notice, but sent the man to work among his other Christian slaves. The Spaniard still had his fears, and turned Mahometan, but continued to wear his Spanish dress, perhaps because he had no other. Some years had elapsed, when the Emperor, being among his workmen, asked him why his head was not uncovered. The Spaniard answered

answered he was a Mahometan. The Emperor made enquiries concerning him, and, being informed who he was, ordered his immediate manumission, asked him a thousand pardons for having kept him so long at work, entirely new cloathed him, and made him a Bashaw.

To such kind of treatment his grandees were hourly subject : to-day hugged, kissed, and preferred ; to-morrow stripped, robbed, and beaten. The Negro who carried this Emperor's umbrella was remarked to be covered with scars. When Ishmael had done with his lance, it was customary for him to dart it into the air, and, if it were not caught before it came to the ground, the man appointed for that office was killed. It was observed of him, whenever he beat a man severely, that man was in the high road to preferment. The chances were greatly in his favour, that, finding him in chains, some few days after, in a wretched condition, the tyrant would call him his dear friend, uncle, or brother ; enquire how he became so miserable, as if wholly ignorant of the matter, bestow his
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own apparel upon him, which was a mark of great distinction, make him as fine as a prince, and bid him go and govern some great town. This, it is said, was a part of his barbarous policy. Being convinced he had stripped a man of all he possessed, he then sent him forth again to glean.

Hypocrisy was one of his greatest vices, and his example rendered it the fashionable vice of the court, during his reign. He affected to attribute his prosperity to the immediate protection of Mahomet, one of whose decendants he is supposed. He called himself the friend of God, the executor of his councils, and it was necessary to say those whom he had massacred, in his frenzy, had fallen by the hand of God. Those who should dare to say otherwise would themselves have been massacred. The Koran was always borne before him, by his Talbe, as his guide, and the rule of his conduct. His hands were frequently raised toward heaven, and not seldom while stained with human blood. He would often alight to kiss the earth, and the name of

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God, and of his prophet, were continually in his mouth, even in his fits of utmost fury. He was vain of being himself a Talbe, or doctor of the Mahometan law, and preached, in his mosque, in a manner more forcible, it is said, than any other of the Talbes. So confirmed was the opinion that those whom he slew went immediately to paradise that the infatuated Moors have come, from the farthest extremity of the empire, to entreat the favour of being murdered by his hand. St. Olon affirms that, while he was at Mequinez, in the space of three weeks, he had killed forty-seven persons. It was a common mode with him, to show his dexterity, at once to mount his horse, draw his sabre, and sever the head from the body of the slave who held the stirrup.

His avarice, indeed, seems even to have exceeded his hypocrisy. On a famous mosque, in the city of Morocco, were three globes, or, as they were called, apples of gold, which were said to have been enchanted. They were placed on this mosque by the wife of the renowned Almonfor,

monfor, who expended the greatest part of her jewels and wealth in their construction. Astrology had been consulted, and the magical architect had, by his conjurations, so confined certain spirits to watch over them that their removal was held to be impossible. The credulous people affirmed that various monarchs, attempting to take them down, had been prevented, by some fatal accident, and that the devil had broken the necks of all those who had been sent to execute such commands. They were, at length, undeceived by the covetous Muley Ishmael. These balls were removed, during his reign, and buried with his other invisible and useless treasures.

The education of the sons of this Emperor, if education it may be called, was such as to render them even more irrational, barbarous, and brutal, than their father. They received no instruction, nor had they any employment, except that of indulging themselves in all the malicious pranks of boys. At the sight of any of them, every man was careful to conceal whatever might attract their notice, for they seized on all

that came to hand, and pilfered with impunity. While Bufnot and the friars of his order were at Mequinez, one of them entered the apartment of these fathers. A French merchant, acquainted with their manners, rid them of his company, by giving him two or three blanquils, which he joyfully received, and ran off exceedingly happy. The Jews were pestered by their visits. Instead of conducting themselves like the sons of an Emperor, their behaviour resembled that of Gipsies, who rob hedges and henroosts. M. St. Olon had a visit from one, who paid him neither salutation nor compliment, but fell on every thing in the chamber that he thought worth his attention. His entrance and exit resembled that of a monkey, that, seeing a basket of fruit, and having stuffed his pouch, whisks away when he can take no more. This youth, of about twelve or thirteen, carried off a pair of pistols, and some boxes of some sweet meats. After serving this noble kind of apprenticeship, as they approached the state of manhood, they were sent, by the Emperor, to govern his various towns and provinces, where

where the unhappy people soon too sensibly felt the effects of such an education. The female children of Muley Ishmael, by his concubines, were strangled at their birth.

This Emperor was an early riser. It was conjectured his rest was disturbed by the horrors of his conscience, and the exactions, cruelties, and murders of which he had been guilty. Waited on in his palace by women, young girls, boys, and eunuchs, such attendants durst not tell tales; but, according to report, in his camp, his restlessness was apparent. Starting from his reveries, he was heard to call upon those he had murdered, and, suddenly waking, he would sometimes ask for some person whom he had killed but the day before. If answered he is dead, he would reply—“Who killed him?” Personal safety required the answer should be—“We do not know, but we suppose God.”

It was affirmed he used often to call on his favourite Hamed, when walking alone, and when he supposed he could not be

be overheard. This Hameda came a boy into his army, where, being noticed, the Emperor gave him a horse. As he grew up, he became a jocular, pleasant fellow, and the Emperor indulged his familiarities so far that he was allowed to enter the gardens, when Ishmael was with his women ; a liberty no man, before or since, ever durst take. He had the title of Bashaw of Bashaws, and the Emperor used passionately to tell him he never could be really angry with him, and that to kill him was a thing to him impossible. It is indeed supposed he did not design his death. It was the consequence of beating him, with the but end of his lance, so severely that he died the next day of his bruises. The Emperor expressed much sorrow, confessed he repented of what he had done, sent him and his physicians a bag of money, and entreated him to live.

The common habits, and appearance, of Ishmael, were very opposite to those ideas Europeans entertain of imperial dignity. On the first audience M. St Olon received, this Emperor was seated on the threshold

threshold of the gate of his Alcaffave, or palace, on a mat, without a carpet, with some Alcaids, sitting upon the bare ground, round him, who were without shoes; he had a dirty, snuffy, handkerchief over his face, and his legs and arms were bare. As an additional mark of his character, it may be added, his punishments were as capricious as they were cruel. He sometimes sent for the head of an Alcaid; at others, the messenger was to spit in his face, give him a box on the ear, or call him cuckold.

Various traits of the character of Muley Daiby have been already given. According to Braithwaite, this Emperor was in person six feet six inches high, of a fierce and bloated countenance, much pitted with the small pox, wanted his foreteeth, and was, altogether, very ugly. At Mr. Ruffel's first audience, he was so drunk he could scarcely hold up his head. All he said was *Buono, Buono*; except giving orders that the Christians should have plenty of wine and roasted pigs, both of which were his favourite luxuries, though both contrary to the Mahometan law. Had not his drunk-

drunkenness rendered him incapable of all business, Mr. Ruffel's embassy, probably, would have been successful; for he had gained his heart by the chests of Florence wine he had brought, one of which, it is said, this Emperor and his first minister, a fat negro, of monstrous bulk, with two or three other drunken favourites, emptied in one night. After having drunken three or four flasks himself, the Emperor took up another, and hugging it in his arms, protested the Christian, who brought it, should have whatever he came to ask.

The qualities of his heart and mind were apparent in his youth. He one day met a Jew, and swore he would murder him if he did not drink all the brandy in his flask. To preserve his life the man drank the liquor; and, had the Emperor (Ishmael) passed that way, he would certainly have been killed for being drunk.

Another time he obliged a Spaniard and an Englishman to wrestle, and took an oath to dispatch him who was thrown, which fell to the lot of the Spaniard. He once

made

made a grave oration to a monkey, reprov-
ing and informing him that monkeys were
not good Muffelmen, and particularly, that
they had spilt cooscoosoo, for which they
had been metamorphosed. (Such is the
Moorish tradition.) Having ended his ha-
rangue, he drew his fabre, and struck off
the head of the monkey.

To add any remarks concerning what
the effects of such a government, and such
governors, must be, were needless. The
Moors perhaps are as capable as any nation
of knowledge and wisdom. At present, un-
happily, they merit too well the name of
Barbarians.

END OF VOL. I.

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